The Tree of Light

A Study of the Menorah – the Seven-branched Lampstand

by L · YARDEN

This beautifully illustrated book, based on extensive historical research and archaeological evidence, offers the first comprehensive study of the Menorah as image and symbol.

Starting with the master specimen of the Temple in Jerusalem, the author describes the evolution of the Menorah into a central symbol of Jewish faith and discusses the other uses to which it has been put – for example, as a Hanukkah lamp, as a Church Lampstand in the Middle Ages, and as the central motif in Israel's coat-of-arms. He then explores, within the wider context of the Ancient East, the antecedents of the Lampstand as interpreted in monuments and written sources. The deeper link between the Lampstand and the almond tree and its powerful imagery is here discussed for the first time.

Finally, Mr. Yarden deals with the various interpretations of the symbolism of the Menorah through the ages and examines the Lampstand's significance and relevance up to the present time. The book is lavishly illustrated with more than 200 photographs that enable the reader to appreciate the objects and motifs described in the text.

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Almond in blossom

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CORNELL UNIVERSITY PRESS
ITHACA, NEW YORK

First published 1971

International Standard Book Number 0-8014-0596-3
Library of Congress Catalog Card Number 79-127780

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN

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INTRODUCTION

SYMBOLS, it has been said, have frequently a strange, sometimes paradoxical destiny. A good example is the six-pointed star, known as the Shield of David or Magen David – by common consent a Jewish emblem par excellence, an emblem deeply rooted in religion and the remote past. It occurs on synagogues and cult objects, in obituaries, on tombstones and in a number of other religious and secular contexts. It adorns Israel's national flag, though not its coat-of-arms; and, last but not least, it was worn by millions in ghettos and extermination camps during the greatest catastrophe in Jewish history.

Yet this star does hardly recall or 'express' anything in Judaism. It is not mentioned in the Bible, nor in Jewish-Hellenistic literature or the Talmud.[1] And despite the fact that it has been used by many peoples, it very rarely occurs, curiously enough, on Jewish antiquities;[2] even during the Middle Ages, with the exception of a single tombstone from Taranto in Calabria,[3] there is no trace of it either on synagogues, graves or cult objects.[4]

In contrast, there are few Jewish monuments – from Carthage to the Euphrates, from Sinai to the Rhine and Crimea – which after the fall of the Second Temple (A.D. 70) fail to show the seven-branched lampstand,[5] the famous menorah,[6] an emblem with all the characteristics so obviously lacking in the star.[7] And according to a strong tradition, even the image on King David's shield was not a six-pointed star but a menorah inscribed with Ps. LXVII: 'May God be gracious to us, and bless us and make his face to shine upon us . . .'[8] It was customary, especially after the fifteenth century, to read this Psalm between Passover and Pentecost (Shabuot), and in the special prayer books for the period as in other books it was always written in that form. In for instance *The Golden Menorah*, published at Prague in the sixteenth century, it is still stated:

> This psalm, together with the menorah, is an allusion to great things . . And King David used to bear this psalm inscribed, pictured, and engraved on his shield, on a sheet of gold, in the shape of the menorah, when he went forth to battle, and he would meditate on its mystery, and conquer.[9]

The truth is that the star, which during the Middle Ages became disseminated through amulets and so-called magical or talismanic mezuzah (doorpost inscrip-

tion),[10] is not mentioned as a Shield of David earlier than the fourteenth century.[11] Nor does it appear in any official Jewish context before 1527, and then only on a banner at Prague.[12] A century later the sign is approved as the official emblem of the Prague community,[13] but in other countries, with the main exception of Austria, it is not used in this sense before the onset of Emancipation in the nineteenth century.[14]

Even so, however, the menorah never entirely lost its former position. To begin with, for most of the Sephardic or Spanish Jews (in the wider sense) it has remained the chief hallmark. At Rome, for instance – the oldest Jewish community in the West – it predominates to this day on graves, in the synagogue and in much besides (figs. 1a–e, 2).[15]

Further, even in Ashkenazic quarters it still occurred on cult objects, in art and literature,[16] and, what is more, it was frequently used by organizations and societies as their emblem. Thus, for example, during the First World War on the badges of the Jewish battalions fighting under the British, during the inter-war period by the revisionist movement in Zionism, and during the latter part of the 1940's by a section of freedom fighters in Palestine when taking the oath of allegiance.[17]

Finally, when in 1948 the State of Israel was established, it was significantly the Temple menorah as depicted on the Arch of Titus that was adopted as its coat-of-arms (fig. 3), the star being left on the national flag where it had once begun its Jewish career.

It was this apparent renascence of the menorah, presumably a turning-point in modern Jewish symbolism, that inspired the present study. Although superficially one of the most familiar artifacts in the Western World, little is generally known of this lampstand's destinies, origin and significance. Yet, as we shall see, few images have embodied so much of Man's most fundamental conceptions of himself and Nature, of Life and Death, of Cosmos and God. Nor, one may venture to say, have many others in a comparable way mirrored for thousands of years in their history the fortunes of one ethnic group.

The menorah as such has of course been dealt with in learned articles and other writings, but rarely if ever have the various aspects of the problem, including the neglected question of the deeper origins of the lampstand, and the relevant pictorial material, been tackled in a single work.

The main emphasis in this study lies for natural reasons on the Temple

lampstand of Jerusalem, its vicissitudes and characteristics; but also its later evolution into an abstract symbol, and other uses to which it has been put, are discussed. In Part III, by way of conclusion, an attempt is made to reconstruct, within a wider context of the ancient East, the evolvement of the lampstand, its ideological evolution and subsequent explanations.

Unless stated otherwise, biblical and apocryphal passages are quoted in the words of the Revised Standard Version, rabbinic texts translated into English in the standard editions, and those of Greek and Latin authors in the translations of the Loeb Classical Library.

Part I

THE MASTER SPECIMEN

Chapter 1

DESTINIES

THE menorah – also referred to as the golden,[1] pure[2] or holy[3] lampstand – appears in the Bible at a very early stage. Already in Exodus, the Priestly tradition tells how Moses was directed by God to make a golden seven-branched lampstand as one of the chief objects in the Tabernacle.[4] The same source relates further that the work was entrusted to Bezaleel – legends say, Moses had difficulties in making the lampstand – who also supervised the construction of the Ark, the table of shewbread and the two altars.[5]

It is stated that the lampstand was placed along with the table and the incense altar in the middle section of the tent,[6] i.e. in the so-called Holy Place which lay between the Forecourt (to the East) and the renowned Holy of Holies housing the Ark with the Covenant (to the West) – a division of the objects and the sanctuary characteristic of the Temple.[7] Lastly, another passage tells us, when the camp was 'to set out', the menorah was always wrapped in a 'cloth of [purple-]blue',[8] a cherished colour throughout antiquity.

Curiously enough, in contradistinction to the single menorah of the Tabernacle and the Second Temple, Solomon is said to have had ten golden 'menorahs' – as well as ten tables, ten lavers, etc. – made for his Temple.[9] Whether these menorahs too were seven-branched, or indeed branched at all (*cf.* fig. 215), and what then happened to the Mosaic lampstand, is not clear from the Bible. In the passages describing the transfer of the Tabernacle from David's City to the newly erected Temple on Mount Moriah, we are simply told that the Ark with the tablets of the Law was moved into the Holy of Holies of the house,[10] while the Tabernacle and all the other sacred vessels it contained were 'brought up'.[11] Rabbinic tradition, on the other hand, maintains that whereas the Tabernacle proper and its remaining furnishings were transferred to the Temple treasury, the menorah and the shewbread table were placed in the central hall of the sanctuary,[12] i.e. between the new specimens which are described as similar in design to the Mosaic vessels but, according to some opinions, of different weight and not intended for ritual use.[13] The historian Josephus (A.D. 37–*c.* 103), in his youth himself one of the Temple priests, also seems to touch on this, and describes some of the furnishings as very similar, though otherwise executed.[14] Altogether,

there are strong indications that spare specimens of the menorah as of other sacred objects were common in the Temple;[15] according to one report, in about A.D. 50 a golden lampstand was even emblazoned 'over the door of the Sanctuary'.[16]

When the First Temple became the prey of Nebuchadnezzar's armies (603–586 B.C.) most of the vessels are said to have been looted and set up in the palace at Babylon.[17] However, although the events of that time are described in the Bible in various passages,[18] the removal of the menorah (in plural) is referred to only once, namely in the last chapter in Jeremiah.[19] Still more remarkable is that among the Temple treasures restored by Cyrus of Persia in 538 B.C., the menorah is not mentioned at all.[20] These and other obscure points have given rise to widely different conclusions. On the one hand various legends arose – some of them quite fanciful – to the effect that the Mosaic menorah, as well as the Tabernacle, the Ark of the Covenant and certain other sacred things had been concealed or had otherwise escaped removal.[21] On the other hand, a suspicion was hazarded from scientific quarters – perhaps too hastily[22] – that a seven-branched lampstand did not exist at all in pre-exilic times, and that consequently all earlier references to it are simply projections of subsequent conditions.

BE that as it may, although the Ark of the Covenant is not found in the Second Temple inaugurated by Zerubbabel in 516 B.C., the existence of the menorah there is usually not disputed. It is visualized, though somewhat dimly, by Zechariah[23] shortly before the completion of the Temple, it is possibly referred to in Daniel's celebrated 'Mene teqel' scene,[24] and it serves as a simile in Ben Sira's lines on woman's beauty: 'Like the shining lamp on the holy lampstand, so is a beautiful face on a stately figure.'[25]

In the year 170 B.C. the lampstand – Josephus says 'lampstands'[26] – was carried off with other Temple vessels by the Seleucid ruler Antiochus IV (Epiphanes),[27] but a new one was made on the orders of Judah Maccabaeus and put back into the Temple (164 B.C.).[28] Hence, amongst other things, the institution of Hanukkah or Festival of Lights,[29] which for eight days every winter is still celebrated by world Jewry.

This specimen, apparently made of tin-coated iron spearheads,[30] was ultimately replaced by the magnificent golden menorah which became world-famous in the Temple of Herod. Its early destinies are relatively well known. It was seen by Pompey[31] when he stormed the Temple in 63 B.C., but was left untouched by him as well as by Crassus,[32] who plundered the sanctuary a decade later.

FINALLY, when the Temple was destroyed by the Roman legions in August 70, several of its vessels were taken – tradition says gathered into a net or veil[33] – and shipped by Titus to Rome. Feuchtwanger's trilogy *Josephus*, which vividly describes the event, provides a good illustration of the prevalent view:

> The flames were already licking the portals . . . It was too late. In great haste the soldiers haul away the sacred implements. They are heavy, of solid gold. Ten men are panting under the lampstand, they collapse. The lampstand crashes to the ground, kills a bearer. Urged on by the prince's [Titus'] shouts, by the cudgel blows of the centurions, the soldiers once more bend to their task, drag the implements out of the blazing, collapsing sanctuary . . . The prince stood on the steps of the Temple with the flames at his back and looked on as the lampstand, the shrewbread table tottered forward through the tumult, towards the Roman camp, up, down, over the bodies, the heads, the shields, like ships on an angry sea.[34]

Upon what this widespread view, ultimately derived from scholarly writings, is based, is somewhat obscure. Actually it is not at all certain that the chief specimen of the menorah, i.e. the lampstand that stood in the central hall of the sanctuary, did really fall into Roman hands. Josephus, the chief witness here as in many other contexts, nowhere expressly states that this was the case. On the contrary, in his account in *The Jewish War* of 'the number of the sacred treasures rescued from the flames' he merely relates that after the fall of the Temple one of the priests – a certain Jeshua, Thebuthi's son – handed over to Titus, upon assurance of safe-conduct, 'two lampstands similar to those [*sic*] deposited in the sanctuary, along with tables, bowls, and platters, all of solid gold and very massive; . . . further . . . the veils, the high priests' vestments, including the precious stones, and many other articles used in public worship'.[35]

For the rest, we find the following in the description of Vespasian's and Titus' joint Triumph at Rome:

> The spoils in general were borne in promiscuous heaps; but conspicuous above all stood out those captured in the Temple at Jerusalem. These consisted of a golden table, many talents in weight, and a lampstand, likewise made of gold, but constructed on a different pattern from those which we use in ordinary life. Affixed to a pedestal was a central shaft, from which there extended slender branches, arranged trident-fashion,[36] a wrought lamp being

attached to the extremity of each branch; of these there were seven, indicating the honour paid to that number among the Jews. After these, and last of all the spoils, was carried a copy[37] of the Jewish Law [the Pentateuch or Torah].[38]

The third and last reference to the menorah in *The Jewish War* is indirect and occurs in connection with the temple of Peace, inaugurated by Vespasian in A.D. 75. This temple, probably located at about the intersection of the modern Via dei Fori Imperiali and Via Alessandrina,[39] was according to contemporary testimony one of the most magnificent buildings of Imperial Rome.[40] It included a library (*bibliotheca Pacis*) to which Vespasian is said to have transferred a number of the most celebrated works of art of the ancient world.[41] 'Here, too,' writes Josephus, 'he laid up the vessels of gold from the temple of the Jews . . .; but their Law and the purple hangings of the sanctuary he ordered to be deposited and kept in the palace.'[42]

Against the background of these circumstantial statements it seems strange, to say the least, that Josephus should have neglected to describe in detail the capture of the chief lampstand itself, particularly as he gives a detailed account of the last hours of the sanctuary. When the premises around the central hall were set on fire – he writes – Titus 'passed with his generals within the building and beheld the holy place of the sanctuary and all that it contained', but left it shortly afterwards in order – as Josephus maintains – to give instructions to quench the fire. Some minutes later the central hall was nevertheless ablaze.[43]

Nor can one entirely rule out the possibility that Josephus' omission is due to reasons unknown to us, e.g. that the master menorah of the central hall had been hidden – that treasures were concealed is evident, for instance, from the Dead Sea Scrolls[44] – or destroyed during the actual conflagration. And if so, the lampstand carried in the triumphal procession – perhaps the table as well – would not be the original from the central hall but one of the two similar specimens surrendered to Titus shortly after the fall of the sanctuary.

When in connection with Titus' death and apotheosis[45] (A.D. 81) – possibly also for the interment of his ashes[46] – an Arch bearing his name was erected above the Forum, the following Jewish objects, then on show at the Peace temple, were depicted on its famous bas-relief of the Triumph (fig. 4): the menorah, the shew-bread table, two incense-cups and two Temple trumpets; also depicted, just in front of the triumphal procession itself, is an arch, possibly meant to be *Porta triumphalis*[47] on the Field of Mars or an earlier Titus Arch[48] on Circus Maximus.

The Arch of Titus thereby became, after the Peace temple and the Flavian amphitheatre (Colosseum), the latter predominantly built by the forced labour of Jewish war-captives,[49] the third and historically the most important Roman monument connected with the Jewish War. It may be added that in the Middle Ages the Arch of Titus – then known as the Arch of the Seven-branched Lampstand (*arcus septem lucernarum*)[50] – was incorporated into the city's fortifications (sketch at p. 9) and damaged, so that its side-pillars and attic had to be restored in the nineteenth century.

It is known that when the temple of Peace burnt down, about A.D. 190,[51] most of its treasures escaped destruction, and as it was evidently rebuilt some years later,[52] they were presumably put back into the new building. Afterwards, when the temple was destroyed by earthquake or lightning in 408, a number of its art-treasures could again be saved and some of them were exhibited in the vicinity.[53] It was only, it is commonly assumed, during Geiseric's sack of Rome (455) that most of the Jerusalem vessels were taken, along with other booty, to Carthage, and when the Byzantine general Belisarius conquered the Vandals, he is said to have triumphantly brought also the 'treasures of the Jews' to Constantinople (533).[54]

At this time, as is usual in such cases, different rumours were already in circulation, most of them implying that the Jewish sacred vessels brought misfortune to rulers and nations who appropriated them. Against the background of these notions – according to legend upon suggestion of a Jew who witnessed Belisarius' triumph – the East Roman emperor Justinian I is reported to have 'quickly sent everything' back to Jerusalem, this time to the Christian churches in the city.[55]

What actually happened is veiled in obscurity. One possibility, of course, is that the vessels were carried off or destroyed by the Persians when they took Jerusalem in 614, though no information to this effect has come down to us. It is more probable, however, that no such shipment was ever dispatched to Jerusalem.[56] For it is noteworthy that a seventh-century Jewish apocalyptic work, *The Wars of King Messiah*, mentions some of the Temple equipment as being 'hidden' in the Imperial palace at Constantinople; and as late as the tenth century, the East Roman emperor Constantine VII (Porphyrogenitus) seems to intimate that a seven-branched lampstand used to be lit at festive processions in the palace, apparently in the part known as the Dome of *heptalychnos*.[57] In which case, it is thought, this specimen may have disappeared only when the Byzantine palace was looted in the Fourth Crusade (1204).[58]

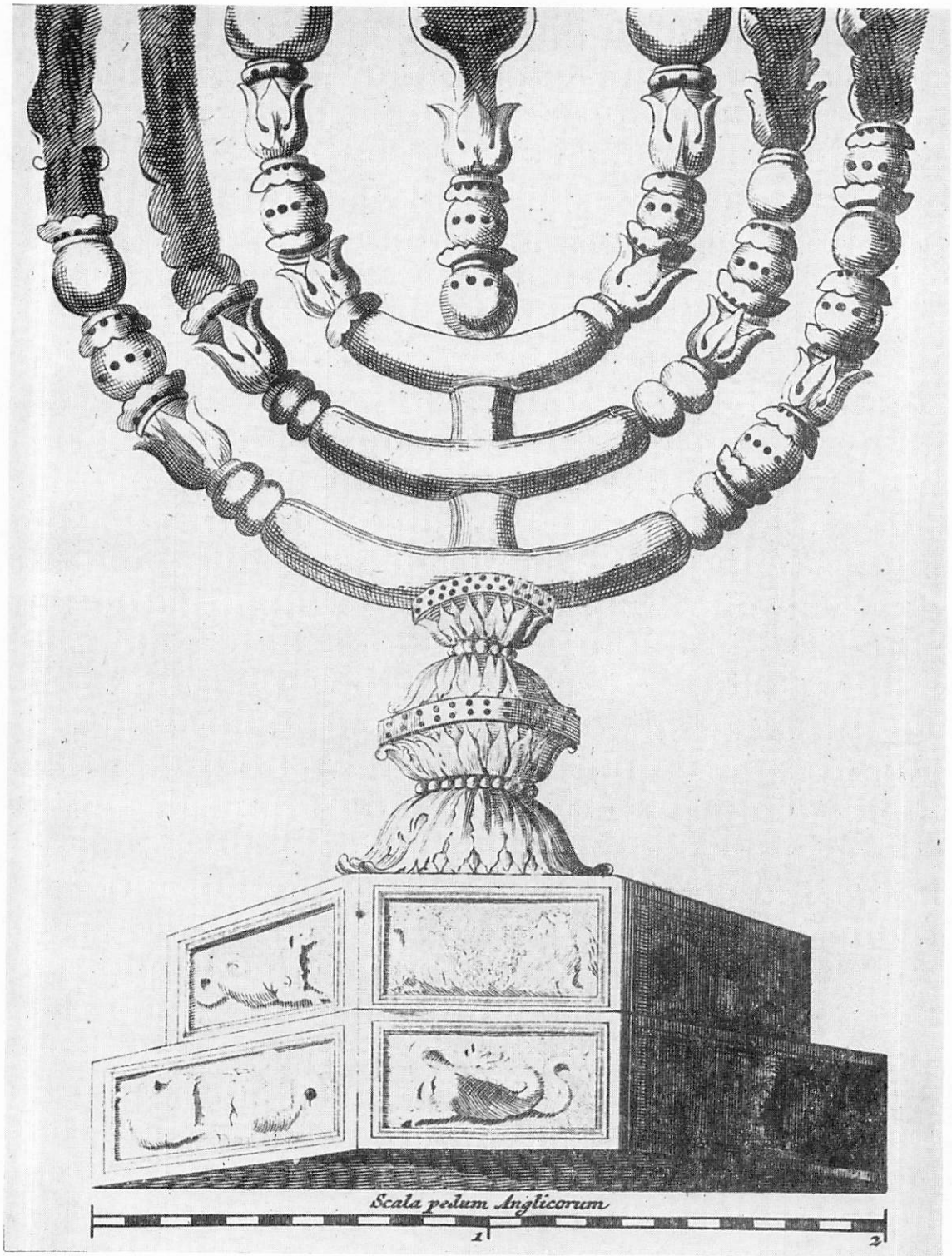
Finally, it is important to note that according to a parallel report, Belisarius, after seizing Ravenna (540), likewise restored to Constantinople Alaric's Roman spoil, which had been taken as early as in 410 and allegedly included certain 'treasures of Solomon'.[59] This time, however, we are told that Justinian 'merely set it forth for the members of the senate to view privately in the palace, being jealous because of the magnitude and splendour of the achievement; and neither did he bring it out before the people, nor did he accord to Belisarius the customary triumph, as he had done when he returned from his victory over Gelimer and the Vandals'.[60]

Chapter 2

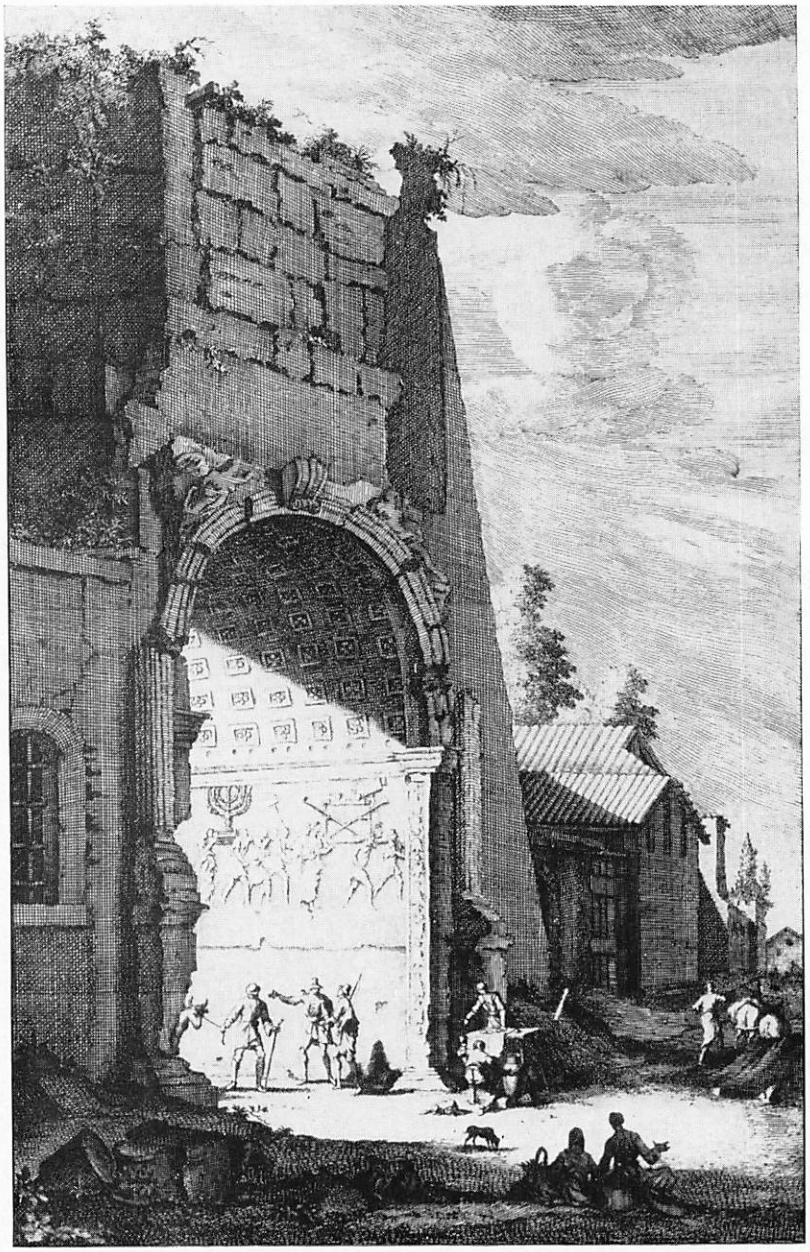
CHARACTERISTICS

In the commission to Moses referred to earlier the menorah is described as follows:

> And you shall make a lampstand of pure gold. The base and the shaft of the lampstand shall be made of hammered work; its cups, its capitals, and its flowers shall be of one piece with it; and there shall be six branches going out of its sides, three branches of the lampstand out of one side of it and three branches of the lampstand out of the other side of it; three cups made like almonds, each with capital and flower, on one branch, and three cups made like almonds, each with capital and flower, on the other branch – so for the six branches going out of the lampstand; and on the lampstand itself four cups made like almonds, with their capitals and flowers, and a capital of one piece with it under each pair of the six branches going out from the lampstand. Their capitals and their branches [*sic*] shall be of one piece with it, the whole of it one piece of hammered work of pure gold. And you shall make the seven lamps for it; and the lamps shall be set up so as to give light upon the space in front of it. Its snuffers and their trays shall be of pure gold. Of a talent of pure gold shall it be made, with all these utensils. And see that you make them after the pattern for them, which is being shown you on the mountain.[1]



The Menorah on the Arch of Titus. Sketch, 1710.



The Arch of Titus in 1710

In spite of the detailed nature of this description, it tells us hardly anything about the lampstand's dimensions, proportions, form or style – all of which must be derived from later sources.

As regards dimensions, it is stated in the rabbinic literature that the distance between each branch corresponded to its own thickness, that the lampstand measured 18 handbreadths or 3 cubits (4½ feet) in height and that the spread of the outer branches was 2 cubits (3 feet).[2] These principal dimensions and the ratio of 1.5 : 1 between the height and breadth are largely confirmed by the relief on the Arch of Titus (fig. 4) – the dimensions chiefly by comparison with the height of the human figures carrying the vessels. To judge from this representation in other respects (fig. 5), the base accounted for a good quarter of the lampstand's total height, including the lamps, while the rest – constituting the central shaft – was divided into three approximately equal sections, of which the lowest was shaped as a sloping foot and the middle one bore three semi-elliptical pairs of branches characteristically ending at the same height as the shaft.[3]

It should, however, be observed, that since the menorah on the relief itself is carved as seen above eye level, the fact that the lower part (base plus foot) is taller than the upper one, does not mean that this was the case with the original lampstand as well. Indeed, it is quite possible that Reland's old lampstand sketch (facing p. 8), with a slightly taller upper part, is a better approximation to what the menorah really looked like. And it would also be more in line with both earlier representations (figs. 19, 20) and rabbinic tradition, according to which the ratio between the lower and upper parts was 1 : 1.25, although it is not clear whether including the lamps.[4]

Interestingly enough, this overall form is described, as we have seen, by Josephus in his Triumph account as differing from the one 'we use in ordinary life',[5] a statement which has not unexpectedly provoked the question of whom he really meant by 'we'.[6] Was the reference to the non-Jews in Josephus' environment or to his co-religionists? The answer is not without significance, for the former alternative would imply that as regards its form, the Jewish menorah was unique among the lampstands of ancient times. If the latter is true, it has been reasoned, this does not in itself rule out the originality of the menorah, but would at the same time attest its 'ordinary' use – assuming of course a seven-branched variety – at such an early date, a point disputed even for subsequent periods.

Although no definite answer can be given, there is much evidence to support the former possibility. To begin with, the Roman-sounding title of Josephus' book,

The Jewish War – analogous, as it is, to Polybius' *Punic War* and Caesar's *Gallic War* and avowedly published for the benefit of 'the subjects of the Roman Empire'[7] with Titus' official approval[8] – is in itself a pointer in this direction. Furthermore, there is what one scholar describes as the 'Cassandra role' which Josephus acts towards his co-religionists,[9] and, last but not least, the mode of expression used. Thus the Triumph account mentions, for instance, the seven menorah lamps as indicating the respect 'the Jews' have for this number, that 'the Jewish Law' was carried after the lampstand, and similarly in several other passages in the book. Only in his later works (*Antiquities of the Jews*, *Against Apion*, and *Life*) is this mode of writing altered, something which in certain quarters even aroused the suspicion that Josephus' description of the Triumph was not that of an eyewitness, but taken verbatim from the lost war memoirs, *De Iudaeis*, of the then Roman procurator in Judaea, Antonius Julianus.[10] This, however, appears rather improbable in view of the fact that, unlike Josephus, Julianus seems to have written in Latin, not Greek.[11]

As regards workmanship, the commandment states that the menorah was made in one piece of pure gold and weighed – possibly with lamps – 1 talent (76 pounds), something which is also mentioned by Josephus.[12] Where the latter's account differs from the traditional text is in the assertion that the entire construction was 'cast',[13] whereas in the Bible we read of 'hammered work'. It is, however, uncertain whether the Hebrew word 'miqshah' really means hammered work; the import may be the same as in Josephus.[14] Otherwise, here as in other respects, Josephus' account refers chiefly to the lampstand of his day, and this, as already intimated, was clearly of late date. For according to rabbinic sources the later Hasmonaeans – John Hyrcanus I (135–104 B.C.) and his son Alexander Jannaeus (103–76) have been suggested by some scholars[15] – had new and more costly specimens of the menorah constructed. When the Hasmonaeans 'grew richer', says the Talmud, they made a lampstand 'of silver, and when they grew still richer they made one of gold'.[16]

More in line, perhaps, with the biblical text, is Josephus' assertion that the menorah had a total of 70 ornaments.[17] This figure seems to be obtained by adding the three sets of a cup, capital and flower on each of the six branches (54 ornaments) to four similar sets 'on the lampstand' – i.e. on the shaft – plus a capital under each of the three pairs of branches (15 ornaments), making 69 ornaments; the remaining ornament was most likely a special embellishment

around the lamp on the shaft itself,[18] possibly identical with the golden 'seventh socket' mentioned in the Septuagint.[19]

But again, the Talmud has a different interpretation of the relevant biblical passage. It assigns three cups but only one capital and one flower to each of the six branches (30 ornaments) and to 'the lampstand', along its 18 handbreadths, as follows:

> Three handbreadths for the legs [raglaim] and the flower upon it, two handbreadths plain, one handbreadth for cup, capital and flower, again two handbreadths plain, one handbreadth for a capital out of which [*sic*] two branches come forth, one on each side, extending and rising to the same height as the lampstand. Then one handbreadth plain, one handbreadth for a capital out of which two branches come forth, one on each side, extending and rising to the same height as the lampstand, then again one handbreadth plain, and one handbreadth for a capital out of which two branches come forth, one on each side, extending and rising to the same height as the lampstand, and then two handbreadths plain; there now remained three handbreadths, in which space were three cups, a capital and a flower [12 ornaments].[20]

A total thus of only 42 ornaments or even less, as far as one can make out, than on the damaged relief on the Arch.

Moreover, the mention of 'legs' can hardly refer to the last Temple menorah,[21] more probably to its subsequent pictorial representations (if not actual synagogue lampstands),[22] which in turn reflected older notions. For as emerges from a recent Jerusalem find, earlier lampstands were almost certainly tripodal (fig. 19)[23] – a structure which only in late-Hasmonaean age must have been replaced by the specimen with solid lower part first met with on Mattathias Antigonus coins (figs. 20, 21, the latter about three-fourths, not a whole menorah, as commonly assumed, *cf.* fig. 22)[24] and subsequently in the so-called Jason's tomb (figs. 107, 108)[24] and on the Arch.

It is also worth mentioning that since the Bible says nothing about the lampstand's dimensions, attempts have occasionally been made to extract a 'hidden' meaning from the commandment through various combinations of words, letters, etc. – lately, for instance, by an architect at Haifa.[25]

THE style of the lampstand is not uniform. The harmonious alternation of cups, capitals and flowers reveals an older oriental – presumably Hittite[26] –influence

(figs. 7, 8), a style partly reappearing on Phoenician cressets from the ninth century B.C. onwards (figs. 9–12),[27] while the foot, with its pendant leaves, closely resembles the bases of Persian columns at Susa and Persepolis from about 600 B.C. (fig. 13).

The upper part of the ornamentation being damaged, it is difficult to conceive its precise appearance. Rabbinic tradition maintains, however, that the cups were like 'Alexandrian goblets', i.e. broad at the top and narrowing towards the bottom, that the capitals resembled 'Cretan apples' or 'eggs' with pointed tops, and that the flowers were like 'blossoms around the capitals of columns'.[28] To which may be added that the lamps, still discernible on some branches, clearly had a bulbous cupola-shape reminiscent of later Russian churches.

The base – Josephus' 'pedestal' – is again different. It consists of two octagonal (or hexagonal) steps, the lower one almost as wide as the spread of outer branches, and it is embellished with animal figures – eagles (upper centre panel, fig.5, holding a wreath) and 'dragons' of various kinds – for a long time considered unauthentic on a sacred Temple vessel.[29] More recent research, however, rightly points to a number of literary and archaeological data which support the contrary.[30] Thus, for instance, according to Josephus the shewbread table in the Temple stood on lions' feet similar to Dorian bedsteads, while the lavers of the sanctuary rested on bases adorned with eagles, lions and bulls in relief.[31] Further, it is said in one passage in the rabbinic writings that 'all kinds of figures were in Jerusalem, except those of human beings', and that pictorial representations of dragons whose 'neck is smooth', i.e. precisely the type that occurs on the base, are permitted.[32]

Finally, it has been observed,[33] very similar motifs occur on two dodecagonal one-step bases in the famous temple of Apollo at Didyma (figs. 14, 15),[34] whose ten-column façade was completed roughly at the time of the Maccabaean rising. A most significant difference, however, is that whereas the 'dragons' at Didyma have on their backs nymphs and other mythological human figures (figs. 16–18),[35] on the menorah base they appear – in one instance (lower centre panel, fig. 5) almost directly quoted (*cf.* fig. 16) – without the human figures.

THE position of the menorah in the Holy Place was carefully prescribed in the commandment: 'And you shall set the table outside the veil [to the Holy of Holies], and the lampstand on the south side of the tabernacle opposite the table; and you shall put the table on the north side.'[36] Rabbinic sources add, that in the

Temple both stood, along with the incense altar, in the western half of the Holy Place:[37] the table 'to the north two and one half cubits [$3\frac{3}{4}$ feet] away from the wall', the lampstand 'to the south, two and one half cubits away from the wall', and the incense altar between them, on the exact axis of the Temple, 'extending somewhat outward' (towards the East).[38]

That the menorah had basically a northern orientation is probably explained by the astral notions of early periods, according to which the seat of God was in the North (in the cosmic sense), at the top of the Universe.[39] Hence also the provision that the lampstand should cast its light 'upon the space in front of it',[40] i.e. to the North, and burn 'before the Lord',[41] in the words of the Revelation the 'seven torches of fire' burning before God's throne.[42] Or as Isaiah put it about the ruler of Babylon: 'You said in your heart, "I will ascend to heaven; above the stars of God I will set my throne on high; I will sit on the mount of assembly, in the far north".'[43]

Josephus' account differs inasmuch as, according to him, the menorah stood on the south side opposite the table, but was placed 'cross-wise' with the branches pointing to the east and south wall respectively,[44] a position with no warrant from the Bible or tradition.

> Every article that stood in the Temple [records the Talmud] was placed with its length parallel with the length of the house [East to West], excepting the [former] ark whose length was parallel with the breadth of the house.[45]

Internal evidence seems to suggest that originally the lampstand was kept alight only at night: the lamps were 'dressed' – i.e. cleaned and filled – in the morning,[46] being 'set up' or lit first at nightfall.[47] Later, one lamp – conceivably the central one – was kept burning also by day, an arrangement with celebrated parallels, for instance, at Athens before the statue of Athena Polias on the Acropolis[48] and at Rome's Vesta temple on the Forum.

The earliest source concerning this lamp is the so-called Pseudo-Hecataeus from Abdera (second century B.C.), who relates that the lampstand at Jerusalem had a lamp 'which is never extinguished by night or day'.[49] This is sometimes referred to as the 'Western Lamp',[50] and it probably gave rise to the expression 'undying' lampstand, popular among the Jews of antiquity,[51] as well as to the so-called Eternal Light or Ner Tamid, usually an oil lamp, which is a common feature of the world's synagogues and Catholic and Orthodox churches. In each new synagogue the Eternal Light is, or at least formerly was, lit with fire fetched

from an older synagogue – as a symbolic continuation of the eternal flame which once burned on the lampstand at Jerusalem.[52]

Whether, on the other hand, the 'lamp' mentioned in older biblical passages,[53] especially the one 'outside the veil of the testimony'[54] (not Eternal Light as sometimes understood)[55] and the so-called God's Lamp,[56] was identical with the central lamp or a predecessor of the menorah as a whole, is a difficult question. It is highly probable, however, that the Holy Place originally contained only a 'lamp' which subsequently – a pre-exilic appearance should not, even on internal evidence,[57] be completely ruled out – was replaced by a seven-branched lampstand.

The care of the 'lamp' or lampstand is said in the Tabernacle to have been the privilege of Aaron;[58] in the Temple it became that of the officiating priests. Judging by later reports, the lamps were cleaned and filled every day before morning service, with the exception of the 'Western' and one or possibly two most easterly lamps – according to Josephus three lamps were always alight, but this may be due to a superficial mode of expression.[59] The last one or two were left burning until after morning service, and attended to then,[60] while the 'Western Lamp', alight all day, was not trimmed until the evening, after which its flame was used for lighting the other lamps.[61] This symbolic giving of light[62] possibly had a further aspect: judging from rabbinic sources and certain pictorial representations, the six side lamps may have been turned in such a way that their flame was pointing towards the central lamp, which alone faced 'the space in front' of the lampstand.[63]

Finally, it may be noted that pure oil of pounded (not pressed) olives[64] was used for the lamps, according to the Talmud a half-log or the volume of three eggs per lamp.[65] Accessories for the service were tongs, snuff dishes, pipes, etc. These stood, together with the oil, on a three-step ladder of wood or stone – half as high as the lampstand – which was used by the priest when trimming and lighting the lamps;[66] tradition varies, however, as to whether the latter were actually removed for trimming or whether they were fastened but 'flexible', each having atop a thin golden plate, which the priest pressed 'down towards the mouth' when ejecting the wick with burnt-out substance, and 'towards the back' when putting in fresh oil.[67]

Part II

DESCENDANTS

Chapter 3

DIFFUSION

LIKE so much else in Jewish history, the contribution of the Maccabees was fateful in the case of the menorah. It was, as we have seen, Judah Maccabaeus who reinstalled the menorah in the Temple, and it fell to Mattathias Antigonus, the last ruling Hasmonaean, to free it from the Temple cult and hence, consciously or unconsciously, for the first time in the history of Israel to introduce an official emblem.

The occasion, significantly enough, was the last phase in Judaea's uneven struggle against the Romans and Herod, when Antigonus – aided by the Parthians – seized control of Jerusalem (40–37 B.C.) and from there tried to rally the rural masses around him. 'It was impossible', writes the contemporary Greek geographer Strabo, 'to compel the Jews to recognise Herod as king after he had been proclaimed [by the Roman Senate] in place of Antigonus; torture could not move the Jews to hail him as king; so highly did they value the former king.'[1]

The emblem was released on coins. As Antigonus, who had lived at Rome,[2] was certainly aware, coins – like clay lamps – were highly efficient as religious propaganda. They depicted a menorah inscribed in Greek 'King Antigonus' (figs. 20–22), while the Hebrew obverse carried either a wreath or four pillars on a base (fig. 22) and was usually inscribed 'Mattathias the High Priest (and) the Community of the Jews'.[3] Apparently the emblem was also used privately to some extent, since on the mentioned pre-Antigonus representation (fig. 19) and in the so-called Jason's tomb, not later than A.D. 30/31 (figs. 107, 108),[4] menorahs are depicted.

Later, with a single exception during early Islamic times (fig. 23),[5] the emblem does not reappear on coins, not even during the great war against Rome (A.D. 66–73), presumably owing to orthodox reluctance to see it engraved on objects that could easily fall into the hands of unbelievers. Even so, there are strong indications that its international diffusion began via representations on clay lamps. These were spread from Cyrene (fig. 147) during preparations for the next Jewish uprising (115–117),[6] which involved, besides North Africa, also Cyprus, Mesopotamia and to certain extent Palestine.

As regards Bar Kokba coins, i.e. from the last revolt against Rome (132–135),

some of them have a seven-branched palm (fig. 24) and this also occurs on certain ossuaries possibly antedating the fall of Jerusalem,[7] as well as later on a number of so-called gold glasses from Rome, in the last case directly representing a menorah (figs. 198–200).[8] For the rest, certain of the Bar Kokba coins – as earlier those of Antigonus – show a four-pillar motif, though with an architrave and a star above it (fig. 25), according to most writers the front of the Temple[9] with the star probably alluding to Simeon Ben Kosiba as Bar Kokba (Son of a Star) – a concept, like the Star of Bethlehem of the Gospels,[10] derived from Balaam's famous vision:

> I see him, but not now; I behold him, but not nigh: a star shall come forth out of Jacob, and a sceptre shall rise out of Israel.[11]

Only seven decades after the fall of Bar Kokba, the menorah is already prominent in most centers of Jewish dispersion, appearing henceforth on objects of almost every kind – on synagogues, graves, lamps, glass vessels, seals and amulets, even on canyon walls in the most inhospitable tracts of the Sinai peninsula (fig. 26):

> Few landscapes could be less attractive [writes a well-known Bible archaeologist] . . . There is nothing to relieve the naked bleakness of the scene, except in late winter and early spring . . . Yet it was there, on the opposite sides of an obscure bend in the canyon, that wayfarers pecked out inscriptions in various languages, as well as drawings of birds and beasts and religious symbols. Some of them have been so weathered by the elements that they are hardly legible. Others stand out most clearly. Among the most striking of them are two seven-branched menorahs . . . a strange and stirring sight. One seems to hear the words echoing through the stillness of this remote retreat: 'Put off thy shoes from off thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground.'[12]

There is a similar variety as regards the actual execution: from the simplest scratchings or graffiti, chiefly on graves, to the most exquisite works in stone and colour. Further, the motif – usually on a tripod or a four-legged stand – occurs both singly and in pairs, sometimes flanking the Torah shrine, and often with other cult symbols and a bar atop the branches. Finally, it is found both lighted and unlit, with side lights oriented towards or away from the central light, or with all the lights turned in the same direction.

This extraordinary variety of representation has recently been investigated,[13] and it would seem that cult symbols began to accompany the menorah in about A.D. 200–350, though at this stage chiefly in the Diaspora and only from about the end of the fourth century in Palestine; in about 350–450, in a few cases perhaps earlier, menorahs with top-bar – frequently with lights on it – began to appear, a design which during 450–700 became almost universal on monuments.

The predominance of the menorah thus established continued also after the seventh century,[14] though it seems that the lampstand gradually lost its character of official hallmark during the Middle Ages,[15] outward emblems being hardly used during this era of suffering. A circumstance which no doubt greatly facilitated the later ascendancy of the star.

Or as one scholar put it: 'Just as in the time of Antigonus the candelabrum had been a symbol of Jewish religious and political independence, so in the later time of the Babylonian Talmud it was symbolically associated with the Sanhedrin, the central seat of Jewish religious and juridical authority. The political decline of Jewish religious independence was therefore accompanied by a decline in the mystic power vested in the candelabrum.'[16]

Nevertheless, not even thenceforth did the menorah completely disappear from external contexts. As we have seen, it was apparently in continuous use at Rome and other Sephardic congregations; it is found on oriental synagogues even as far as Kai-Feng-Fu in China,[17] and it can be noted sporadically on Ashkenazic synagogues and graves long into the nineteenth century.

Otherwise it survived chiefly in book illumination, especially in the beautiful Hebrew Bibles from medieval Egypt (fig. 27), Spain (fig. 28), France (figs. 29, 30) and Germany (fig. 31), in the codices from Spain and Southern France often framed with a quotation from Num. VIII, 4: 'And this was the workmanship of the lampstand . . .; according to the pattern which the Lord had shown Moses, so he made the lampstand' (figs. 28, 30). Further, as mentioned, with Ps. LXVII in prayer-books and other works, in the embellishment of Torah breastplates and crowns (figs. 32, 33), on Torah shrine curtains (fig. 34), so too in Samaritan quarters (fig. 35), on the back of praying-desk lamps (fig. 36), on 'mizrach' tablets (figs. 37, 38)[18] and other objects.

What happened later on, especially during the century and a half up to 1948, should by now be familiar to the reader.

More difficult to assess is the period after 1948. As regards Israel proper, the adoption of the menorah as coat-of-arms carries in itself the implication of a chief

symbol. And this quite irrespective of the extent to which people are aware of it or not.

The position is different concerning Jews in other countries. For while it is evident that recent developments here have also – again perhaps unconsciously – inaugurated a renascence, it is too early to say whether in the long run this may lead to the readoption of the emblem on, for instance, Ashkenazic graves, in obituaries and the like. Considering, however, the remarkable emotional attachment that most Jews still feel for the menorah, it should not be ruled out, even though ignorance and habit will certainly act as a brake. 'Were I a Jew . . .', writes, characteristically enough, an open-minded non-Jewish scholar, 'I could think of no symbol of hope more appropriate to put upon my grave than a menorah.'[19]

THE same tradition led to the Christian use of the lampstand.[20] In earlier times the motif was sometimes combined with the cross, an arrangement found, for instance, on inscriptions at Kissera (North Africa),[21] on certain clay lamps from Gezer[22] and on a much-disputed lamp from Carthage (fig. 39).[23] It was also occasionally engraved beside a Christian monogram (fig. 41) and sometimes, as in Syria during the sixth and seventh centuries,[24] it was used independently on lamps.

Mention may also be made of an interesting medieval manuscript by the Alexandrian sailing monk Cosmas Indicopleustes, in which with a clear association to Jewish-Hellenistic conceptions of Supernal Mother the lampstand is pictured with Mary crowned and enthroned on its top (fig. 40).[25] In general, here as elsewhere, the medieval symbolism of Mary tended to supersede the earlier identifications with Jesus (fig. 45), though the latter were to all appearances never entirely abandoned in church contexts, where the altar cross, like the menorah shaft, is still frequently flanked by three lights on either side (fig. 42).[26]

Further, apart from other manuscripts (figs. 43, 44) and occasional wall paintings (figs. 46–48),[27] magnificent seven-branched lampstands were often placed in front of the altar in medieval churches, e.g. at Essen, the oldest extant and partly Byzantine in style (figs. 49–52), Canterbury, Reims, Milan (fig. 53), Prague and Stockholm,[28] to name only a few. A tradition which in the East, as we have seen, may be as old as the age of Justinian, and in the West, to judge by a contemporary chronicle, presumably originated with Charlemagne, who in 782 installed such a lampstand in the church of Aniane.[29]

Finally, from our times there are the modern Christmas lamps, common above all in Scandinavia (figs. 54, 55). And the design, it would seem, is occasionally used as a pontifical sign of dignity,[30] sometimes thus on archbishop's vestments.

A DEBATED question is whether actual menorahs occurred in synagogue worship. On the one hand there are representations from late antiquity which seem to suggest that seven-branched lampstands were standing on either side of the Torah shrine, a motif of increasing symbolic import after the year 70. 'The Torah shrine becomes the focal point', writes one scholar, 'for after the fall of the Temple the cult was succeeded by piety.'[31]

On the other hand, the Talmud expressly forbids all imitation of the Temple and its sacred vessels, including the menorah:

> A man may not make a house after the design of the Temple, or a porch after the design of the Temple-porch, a courtyard after the design of the Temple-court, a table after the design of the table [in the Temple], or a candelabrum after the design of its candelabrum. He may, however, make one with five, six or eight [branches], but with seven he may not make it even though it be of other metals.[32]

Some scholars consider that, despite the normative prohibition, the menorah was used in synagogues,[33] possibly also in the home, and that for several centuries the rabbis were unable to enforce their standpoint.[34] Otherwise, it is reasoned, the menorah would not have been depicted flanking the Torah shrine on monuments, nor would it have been shown on a tripod or four-legged stand and with a bar for lights atop the branches. This view is often supported by reference to a stone found in synagogue remains at Hammath by Tiberias, with the upper part of the lampstand in relief and depressions – according to some opinion for lamps[35] – on the top (fig. 77). Further, a bronze object – 12 cm. wide and 8 cm. wide – found in the synagogue of Sardis, Asia Minor, is described as 'may be the base . . . of a small bronze menorah',[36] while a dedicatory inscription from the same site mentions one Aurelius Hermogenes as donor of a 'seven-branched lampstand'[37] (a similar inscription from Side, in Pamphylia, speaks of two 'seven-lampwicks')[38] – a reference, say the excavators, either 'to . . . a representation in marble [also found at Sardis, fig. 76, top-bar] or an actual menorah in bronze which held lighted lamps at the tips of its branches'.[39]

Opposers of this view[40] argue that, were the supposition correct, unmistakable bronze lampstands would have been found (non-Jewish specimens have been

excavated)[41] and literary sources would mention something about the use to which the menorah was put in the synagogue, not least in connection with the reading of the Torah. Consequently, it is averred, the rabbinic prohibition was probably heeded on the whole, though occasional exceptions may have occurred. And if in pictorial representation the menorah has nevertheless been so common, this is because its function had changed and hence its form as well, though not as a cult object but as an abstract symbol. For it is pointed out, the rabbinic prohibition concerned the making of the lampstand, by implication for sacral purposes, not its representation in relief, painting or mosaic.

Here it may be added that even today, despite extensive secularization, the menorah as a cult object occurs only exceptionally in synagogues or homes.[42] It is still most common in pictorial representation, as an abstract symbol; and when here and there it is manufactured of metal, stone or the like, it is usually not for sacral purposes. In Israel, for instance, where the menorah is becoming increasingly popular in sculpture (fig. 56), it is to all appearances never used in sacral contexts. And at Rome, where it features as an emblem on top of the synagogue, indoors, significantly enough, it appears with painted flames (fig. 2).

It is thus by no means easy to determine whether or not actual menorahs occurred in the synagogues, though it seems clear that the character of the lampstand changed after the fall of Jerusalem. And in any case, already in the Middle Ages – the earliest instance is from the thirteenth century[43] – the lamp of the home and the synagogue is not a seven-branched lampstand but the so-called Hanukkah lamp intended for eight lights.

A DESCENDANT, to all appearances, of ancient clay lamps with eight wicks (fig. 57) and used during the eight days of the Festival of Lights, Hanukkah lamps display a varied and ingenious design (figs. 58–60).[44] In synagogues, however – if used constantly – they generally have the form of the menorah (fig. 60), the lights being carried by four semi-elliptical pairs of branches, while the top of the shaft (embellished with a special ornament) is left without a light. A ninth light, usually on a small branch projecting from the body of the lampstand, serves as a lighter (Shamash) for the others.

It is characteristic that Hanukkah lamps which are not in the form of the menorah often include the latter in their embellishment (fig. 58), evidently to mark the kinship between the two. Similarly, 'On Hanukkah', it is stated already in the Talmud, 'we read the section of the Princes [the dedication of the Altar]

and for haftarah [on Sabbath] that of the lights in Zechariah. Should there fall two Sabbaths in Hanukkah, on the first we read the passage of the lights in Zechariah and on the second that of the lights of Solomon.'[45]

Notwithstanding this, however, the function of the Hanukkah lamp in the synagogue is not the same as that of the menorah in the Temple. Its occurrence there is in no way essential, nor is it general. Other lighting devices are used, sometimes only wax candles, since the most important sacral function of the original menorah, as will appear later, is in the synagogue continued by Eternal Light.[46]

Chapter 4

ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

To give an account of the menorah motif as it occurs on all the innumerable monuments is impossible, not least in view of the proliferation of finds in Israel; but neither is it necessary.[1]

As regards *synagogues*, the diffusion of the motif coincides on the whole with the classical period of the former in Palestine, above all in Galilee, and elsewhere. What chiefly characterizes this stage (about A.D. 200–700) is the free use of figurative motifs; these did, it is true, occur earlier, but were apparently forbidden again during the very last days of the Temple.[2] It is consequently not surprising that the excavators who first studied the synagogue remains in Galilee supposed that they 'either . . . were erected by Jewish "heretics", or that they were ordered in all their details by Roman emperors favoring the Jews'.[3] That this, however, was not the case emerges clearly from a passage in the Jerusalem Talmud: 'In the days of R. Johanan [third century] they began to paint on the walls, and he did not prevent them. In the days of R. Abun [fourth century] they began to make designs on mosaics and he did not prevent them.'[4]

Decoration in relief probably preceded the paintings. At all events the menorah was frequently used in relief, occurring for instance on capitals in synagogue remains at Caesarea (figs. 61, 62, top-bar), Capernaum (fig. 63, cult symbols) and Beth Jibrin (fig. 64, top-bar), as well as outside Palestine, on a group of capitals – presumably from Porto[5] – now at the Lateran Museum (fig. 65). Further on column bases, for instance at Ascalon (fig. 66, top-bar and cult symbols), and on

friezes, usually in the middle of the bas-relief and either within a wreath as at En Nabraten (fig. 67, cult symbols), or flanked by rosettes or other decoration as at Yafia (fig. 68) or Nawa (fig. 69). The last-mentioned is in itself one of the most interesting motifs discovered, having the shaft of the menorah taller than the tops of the branches and the central lamp marked as a sort of 'round object', presumably the sun.[6] From Nawa comes still another variant, an extremely beautiful frieze relief with two lampstands flanking a floral pattern (fig. 70).

The arrangement menorah within a wreath, as at En Nabraten, was to all appearances particularly cherished. It occurs on a synagogue pillar from Gaza (fig. 71, top-bar and cult symbols), now at the mosque Djami el-Kebir in the town. Further, upon a number of stone fragments, presumably from synagogues, at Ashdod (fig. 72), Gadara (fig. 73), Hammath by Gadara (fig. 74) and an unreported place (fig. 75), the three first-mentioned with top-bar and apparently all four with cult symbols.

Finally, some decorative stone carvings showing different arrangements of the menorah from synagogue remains at Eshtemoa (fig. 78), Pekiin, here with the lampstand as a tree (fig. 79, cult symbols), Nawa (figs. 80, 81, cult symbols on the former) and Ascalon (figs. 84, 85, top-bar and cult symbols), as well as from Ostia in Italy (figs. 82, 83, cult symbols) and Pergamum, Sardis and Priene in Asia Minor (figs. 86–88, top-bar and cult symbols).

None of the paintings in Palestinian synagogues seem to have been preserved, though there are some traces of colour.[7] However, it is not difficult to gain an idea of their appearance, chiefly thanks to the synagogue murals of Dura Europos, discovered in 1921 and now in the Damascus museum. This synagogue, whose biblical scenes were executed about A.D. 245, was abandoned only eleven years later when the town – then a Roman bastion against the Parthians – was evacuated and left to be buried by desert sand.[8] Generally, the menorah is depicted here round-branched and on the conventional tripod or four-legged stand (figs. 89, 90). But in one panel (fig. 91), just above the niche for the Torah shrine (at an earlier stage decorated with a Tree of Life, fig. 92),[9] it appears straight-branched and with a distinctive base instead of a foot-stand (*cf.* fig. 43). It is placed, moreover, beside a four-pillar façade reminiscent of Bar Kokba's coins, is lit and has all its lights turned towards the pillar motif, apparently the usual Messianic Temple.[10]

As regards mosaics, there is first and foremost the synagogue floor at Beth Alpha (fig. 93), south of Galilee – a unique agglomeration of motifs that occur in one combination or another on most finds. Here, on the upper panel, a menorah

with top-bar is on either side of the Torah shrine, which – with Eternal Light suspended from its gable – is also flanked by lions and birds (guardians of the lampstand and shrine), trees, and the following cult symbols: lulab (palm branch), ethrog (citrus fruit), shofar (ram's horn) and incense shovel. Before the whole is a drawn two-piece veil, evidently delimiting the 'earthly' or everyday sphere from the 'celestial', like the Holy of Holies in the Temple.[11]

It should also be observed that here – as almost everywhere in Palestine and the East – the Torah shrine is shown closed, while in the West it is always depicted with open doors, perhaps, as has been suggested, to stress its 'enrolling' character.[12] Similarly the incense shovel is common on Palestinian monuments, whereas in the Diaspora, with the exception of a single tombstone (fig. 130), its place is taken by the amphora.[13]

Much akin to the Beth Alpha mosaic are two other synagogue floors, notably at Naaran (fig. 94, top-bar) and Beth Shean (fig. 95, top-bar and cult symbols), though in the former, curiously enough, the Eternal Light (?) is quadrupled and suspended in pairs on menorahs which flank the shrine.[14] Parenthetically it may be added that such a special lamp evidently occurred in churches as well at that time, to judge, at all events, from the almost contemporaneous wall mosaics in Santa Maria Maggiore at Rome, where it is depicted in a similar context (fig. 96).

Most other floor mosaics in Palestine, e.g. in synagogue remains at Maon (fig. 97, top-bar), Jerash (fig. 98) or Isfiya (figs. 99, 100), show the lampstand without the shrine, but grouped with other cult symbols, at Maon, moreover, with a pair of trees, apparently in allusion to Zechariah's vision.[15] Mention may also be made of the interesting floor mosaic at Salbit (described as the oldest-known Samaritan synagogue in Palestine) where a sacred mountain – presumably Gerizim – is pictured between two menorahs (fig. 101). Finally, one of the finest floor mosaics yet discovered, namely in the synagogue at Naro (Hammam Lif) near Carthage (fig. 102), shows the menorah both at the end of the central inscription, apparently as a sort of full stop (fig. 103), and as a distinct emblem flanking the text (figs. 104, 105, cult symbols on the former).

Graves are another major field for the occurrence of the menorah motif. How extensive the graveyards in late antiquity could be is demonstrated, for instance, by the necropolis at Beth Shearim, where no fewer than 25 catacombs have already been excavated. The graveyard which was used up to A.D. 352, when Gallus destroyed the town, served also as a burial ground for Jewish notabilities abroad,

whose remains were brought there – occasionally by sea – from as far away as Italy,[16] Antioch, Palmyra, southern Arabia and Mesopotamia.

The menorah, as usual in different combinations, occurs both in ornamentation and on graves. Mention may be made, for example, of two paintings, one with a Torah shrine flanked by menorahs and an Eternal Light on the shrine (fig. 109, top-bar), and the other similar in arrangement but without the Eternal Light (fig. 110, top-bar). Further, some carvings: one with a four-pillar façade and the lampstand within the central arch (fig. 111), a less common combination but with the same symbolism in principle as on other four-pillar motifs; one with a menorah above an entrance (fig. 112); and one representing a human figure crowned with a menorah (fig. 113), possibly an allusion to it as 'the crown of good deeds'.[17]

Outside Palestine, at Rome, six Jewish catacombs have been discovered: at Monteverde in Trastevere (the oldest and most orthodox),[18] at Vigna Randanini and Vigna Limiti (previously Cimarra) on Via Appia, at Via Appia Pignatelli, at Via Casilina (formerly Labicana) east of Esquiline and at Via Nomentana in the north-east of Rome. The latter, the largest and last discovered (1920), is located in the garden of Villa Torlonia, once Mussolini's residence in the city.

Some notion of the frequency of the menorah in these catacombs – the most extensive outside Palestine – may be gained from the one at Monteverde, where of 83 inscriptions with some motif, no less than 70 show a menorah.[19] For the rest, it often occurs on paintings in these catacombs, e.g. on an oft-reproduced design from Villa Torlonia, in which two burning menorahs – each with cult symbols and the side lights oriented towards the central light – flank a Torah shrine, while heavenly bodies hover above and a drawn veil sets the whole apart (fig. 114). In the same catacomb a burning lampstand appears sometimes at the center of a ceiling design or 'heavenly ceiling' (fig. 115), or in the middle of a vault (figs. 116, 117), a location met with in Vigna Randanini too, above a vault (fig. 118).

For representations in graffito and relief, three tombstones from Monteverde may be adduced, one with Torah shrine flanked by menorahs (fig. 119, left lampstand five-branched), the other two with the menorah surrounded by cult symbols (figs. 120, 124), an arrangement also found on an extremely well-executed sarcophagus from Villa Torlonia (fig. 121). Finally, two famous sarcophagi from Vigna Randanini, one with a menorah flanked by trees (fig. 122), clearly another allusion to Zechariah's vision,[20] the other possibly a Roman coffin converted by placing a menorah within the *imago clipeata*, a round medallion intended for the portrait of the deceased (fig. 123).[21]

Apart from Rome, the motif occurs in catacombs that have been discovered elsewhere: on Sicily (fig. 125), Sardinia (fig. 126), Malta (fig. 127, with and without top-bar), at Venosa in Apulia (fig. 128, top-bar), at Alexandria (fig. 129, top-bar and cult symbols), this one as yet little investigated,[22] and at Gammarth Hill near Carthage (fig. 130, top-bar and cult symbols), apparently the only one with paintings outside Palestine and Rome.[23]

The menorah also appears on innumerable tombstone fragments found throughout the ancient world. In Italy, for instance, at Milan (figs. 131, 132, the former with cult symbols), Taranto (fig. 133), Otranto (fig. 134), Fondi (fig. 135) and Naples (fig. 136, top-bar and cult symbols). Further, in Spain (fig. 137, five-branched with top-bar and pentagram), Portugal (fig. 138, cult symbols), Gaul (fig. 139, top-bar and cult symbols), and Pannonia, here, interestingly enough, with a family portrait on one tombstone and 'One God' (in Greek) flanking the lampstand (figs. 140, 141);[24] in Greece, e.g. at Athens (fig. 142), in Thrace (fig. 143, cult symbol) and at Almyr in Thessaly (fig. 144); in the Crimea (figs. 145, 146) and in various places in Asia Minor.[25]

Lamps form a group closely associated with graves, in which they have been found in great numbers.

Clay lamps, as we have seen, originally played a decisive role in the international diffusion of the menorah. Apart from the prototypes mentioned from Cyrene (fig. 147), unmistakable menorahs appear on lamps, as on most other Jewish antiquities, from about the third century onwards. It is customary to divide these lamps into five main types from the following centers: Palestine, Alexandria, Carthage, Cyprus and Asia Minor.[26] A classification, it should be added, which is still very incomplete.

On the earlier Palestinian examples the menorah – if that is the object represented – is rather crudely executed. It is placed here, as on most other Palestinian specimens, above the lamp's main aperture, but often in such a way that the wick-spout simultaneously forms its central light (fig. 148)[27] – an accentuation of the central light that is reminiscent of the Nawa lintel (fig. 69), and, as will appear later, of great symbolic importance.

Later on – the earliest example is from the third century (fig. 149)[28] – lamps of a considerably higher quality occur in Palestine (figs. 150–152). They are usually executed in a decorative deep relief showing a menorah with top-bar flanked by shofar and incense shovel. Another specific feature appears to be that while the lampstand's inner and outer branches are filled with small circles, these are

absent on the middle branches. Not of the same type, but likewise of high quality, is another lamp from Palestine (fig. 153), depicting the menorah with peculiar dots joined by thin lines, a feature hitherto found in Palestine only in a floor mosaic near Hulda (fig. 106, cult symbols).[29] Finally, two interesting lamps from adjacent regions, one from Sidon in Lebanon, showing the menorah and a dove (fig. 154), and the other from Syria, similar to the former, but with top-bar and without the dove (fig. 155).

On the so-called Alexandrian lamps, a type which presumably originated during the fourth century or earlier,[30] the lampstand – sometimes straight-branched as in Dura (fig. 91) – is generally executed with close parallel dashes and flanked by shofar or ethrog and lulab (figs. 156–158). Several lamps of this type have also been found outside Egypt, especially in Palestine and Syria (figs. 159–161), being perhaps made there after the Alexandrian pattern.

In contradistinction to these, the menorah on the Carthaginian lamps – apparently not earlier than the fourth century[31] – usually has the branches bent at right angles, thus a sort of 'angled' menorah, and is seldom accompanied by cult symbols (figs. 162, 163). Outside Carthage proper, however, deviating types have been found in the near-by catacomb at Gammarth Hill and the synagogue of Naro. On some of these, cult symbols are similarly absent, but the lampstand itself is conventionally round-branched (figs. 164, 165).

As regards the lamps from Cyprus, these are all characterized by the menorah, as a rule with lulab and ethrog, being placed across – instead of along – the lamp (fig. 166), a unique arrangement.

Finally, an example from Asia Minor (fig. 167, top-bar and cult symbols) and a few 'non-typical' lamps: from Athens, described as the earliest Jewish lamp found in the city (fig. 168, menorah?), Sicily (fig. 169, top-bar and cult symbols), Malta, here with a straight-branched menorah on the back of the lamp (fig. 170, top-bar and cult symbols), Rome (figs. 171, 172), and a beautiful lamp of bronze from Egypt or Syria (fig. 173), showing a menorah with top-bar as a handle (a similar one comes from Beth Shean, fig. 174),[32] supported on the right by shofar and on the left by lulab and ethrog.

Glass vessels, chiefly small bottles and gold glasses (perhaps Kiddush chalices), form a smaller group of great historical interest. Like clay lamps, these objects have been found chiefly in graves, possibly the wine vessels of the deceased, used on the Sabbath and holidays.[33]

The bottles are of two main types, both presumably products of Palestine or Syria from the fourth century.[34] They are almost all hexagonal and occur either as ewers about 5 inches tall (figs. 175–180)[35] or without neck and handle, in form resembling old-fashioned inkwells (figs. 181–187). The menorah with cult symbols is here always on one of the facets, another usually shows an arch, and the rest geometric and floral designs.

Of the gold glasses, apart from a single side fragment (fig. 196), only the bottoms are preserved. The gold-glass technique, which was invented in ancient Egypt, became extremely popular among Jews and Christians in late antiquity, especially in the third and fourth centuries.[36] The motifs were executed in gold leaf – partly perhaps in colour – on a glass foundation and a new layer of glass was blown on top.

Three main types of Jewish gold glasses are known, one from Cologne,[37] the Colonia Agrippiensis of the Romans, the other from Rome itself.

The Cologne glass, last reported in the municipal museum (fig. 188), is unique. It is dominated by a huge central menorah with top-bar flanked by cult symbols and, as far as can be discerned, with all the lamps turned in one direction.

The second type, of which an oft-reproduced specimen is at the Vatican (fig. 189), shows in the middle of a colonnaded court a four-pillar motif, here a whole temple-like building,[38] referred to in the inscription as the 'House of Peace'. In the foreground, a menorah with top-bar is lit and has all its lights pointing – as in Dura (fig. 91) – towards the building. The latter, which stands on a platform, has a menorah-adorned gable and the doors half open, a feature, as we have seen, common west of Palestine. The burning menorah itself is flanked on the right by a couple of oil or wine vessels, each with two handles, and on the left by lulab, ethrog and two ill-defined objects. Finally, two pillars are shown in the courtyard, possibly the Jachin and Boaz of Solomon's Temple,[39] while two small buildings (each with a palm) adjacent to the right colonnade, indicate the entrance.

The third type, of which there are three variants, has the bottom divided into two horizontal fields and an opened Torah shrine – on a platform and housing scrolls – in the middle of the upper field.

The characteristic feature of the first variant (figs. 190, 191) is that the Torah shrine is flanked by menorahs with top-bar, each accompanied by cult symbols and with its side lamps turned towards the central lamp, which alone is apparently oriented towards the shrine. The lower field is dominated by a table with a plate of fish and a bolster reinforced with straps beside it, probably the traditional

Jewish fish meal on a Friday evening (*cena pura*).[40] As regards the plate itself, reference can be made to a bronze platter adorned with a menorah and Torah shrine from Naaneh in Palestine, now at the Louvre, perhaps an antique fish-plate (fig. 192).[41]

On the next variant (fig. 193) the Torah shrine is flanked by guardian lions, while the lampstands – with top-bar and cult symbols but with all their lights facing the shrine – are in the lower field on either side of a central lulab. A similar arrangement occurs on another specimen, now at the Israel Museum (figs. 194, 195); here, however, the Torah shrine is flanked in addition by scrolls, and a drawn veil is shown in front.

On the third variant the Torah shrine is again not flanked by menorahs, but is guarded by doves on small globes at the side, holding a fillet suspended from the top of the shrine (fig. 197). A single menorah without a top-bar appears in the middle of the lower field, flanked by guardian lions and cult symbols. It too is lit, but has the side lights turned away from the central lamp, which alone seems to face the shrine. Interestingly enough, on certain glass bottoms of the same variant preserved only in fragments, the menorah, as already mentioned, is represented as a tree (figs. 198–200),[42] has a bar with unlit lamps atop the branches and is surrounded only by cult symbols, while guardian lions or doves probably flanked the shrine in the missing upper field.

IN conclusion, a few words about *seals* and *amulets*. These, too, are common grave-finds and of considerable interest. 'They demonstrate', writes one scholar, 'one thing which is extremely important . . ., namely, that the cult objects, especially the menorah, . . . were objects of direct protective power, protective in this life from illness, accident and demons, and presumably protective and helpful in the life to come.'[43]

A number of representative bronze seals show that here as well the menorah is flanked by cult symbols, chiefly by shofar and lulab (figs. 201, 202), and is sometimes accompanied by the owner's name (fig. 203, 'Theodora') or other inscription, e.g. 'Iuda' (fig. 204). A variant of these is a bronze seal belonging to one 'Leontios', now at the British Museum (fig. 205), where the shofar's place is taken by a bunch of grapes, possibly a stamp for wine jars.[44] Further, a seal at Haifa's municipal museum (fig. 206) is of wood and has two menorahs with top-bar – probably an ancient bread stamp.[45]

Similar arrangements in principle occur on amulets, the majority being of

glass (figs. 207, 208, top-bar on the former) or bronze (fig. 211, top-bar), with the menorah usually lighted. Closely akin to the glass amulets and not always easy to distinguish from these is a group of glass medallions (fig. 209, top-bar), evidently very popular, for they have been found both in Palestine and several places outside, e.g. at Tyre, on Cyprus and in Jugoslavia.[46]

Lastly, two unusual finds. One is a carved bone – presumably an amulet[47] – from Beth Shean (fig. 210), showing a menorah with top-bar flanked on the left by lulab, ethrog and shofar and on the right by incense shovel. And the other, a gold disk with a hole for a necklace, now at the Library of Jews' College, London, carrying an inscription in Greek and as usual with the menorah flanked by shofar and lulab (fig. 212, top-bar).

Part III

ANTECEDENTS AND SYMBOLISM

Chapter 5

THE SACRED TREE

It is not surprising that the question of the menorah's origin should have become an object of research only in more recent times, whereas attempts at interpretation have occurred at practically all periods.

In general it may be said that most scholars now seem to suppose that the menorah originated from a sacred tree, more specifically the Tree of Life of mythology[1] – a primal image which can be glimpsed as early as the third millennium B.C. in the epic tale 'Gilgamesh and the Land of the Living', and which played a decisive role in the tree cult of the ancient world.[2]

Closely akin to this image and at times identical with it was the presumably older myth of a cosmic tree or World Tree, usually conceived at the center of the earth[3] – sometimes on a cosmic Mountain of the Gods – with its roots in the Underworld (realm of the dead) and crown in Heaven (realm of the gods). In short, a sort of imaginary *axis mundi* or World Pillar[4] (*cf.* figs. 7, 8) whose 'boughs', as Carlyle said of Yggdrasil, are 'Histories of Nations', its every leaf 'a biography', every fibre 'an act or word'.

The concept of the Tree of Life extended this myth to include the notion that gods live upon the fruit or juice of a miraculous tree that endows eternal life – a belief especially prominent in Indo-Iranian mythology, not least in the Zarathustra legend (Hom, Haoma), but also found in other religions. Thus for example in early Greece, where Heracles was thought to have gained eternal bliss by means of the golden apples of the Hesperides, or in Nordic mythology, where Idun's apples – though not directly connected with a tree – were believed to have similar properties.[5]

In Mesopotamia this was elaborated with the notion that the divine tree grew in the mythical Paradise at the source of the Water of Life (Dilmun, Eridu), where it was guarded and tended for the chief deity by the primordial Man-King. In the ritual, the temple came to represent the deity's 'heavenly dwelling', the temple grove with the sacred tree the legendary Paradise, and the sacral King as the deity's representative its Gardener. The latter was in this context anointed with oil of the sacred tree, crowned with a wreath of its leaves and blossoms and had a rod or sceptre of its branches.[6]

THE majority of these earliest notions are clearly reflected in the Bible narrative. Thus Adam, the First Man and Gardener, sojourns in the Paradise of Eden where – as we read – there grew 'every tree that is pleasant to the sight and good for food', and 'the tree of life . . . in the midst of the garden'; and where also 'a river flowed out . . . to water the garden', after which it 'divided and became four [World] rivers'.[7] Further, when the couple, having eaten of the forbidden fruit of the Tree of Knowledge and thereby acquired some Divine wisdom, are expelled from Eden, this is done lest they put forth their hand 'and take also of the tree of life, and eat, and live for ever',[8] a clear allusion to immortality as a Divine attribute.

Similarly, the tree's cosmic character is made clear in Ezekiel[9] and, above all, in Daniel, where it is described as follows:

> I saw, and behold a tree in the midst of the earth; and its height was great. The tree grew and became strong, and its top reached to heaven, and it was visible to the end of the whole earth. Its leaves were fair and its fruit abundant, and in it was food for all. The beasts of the field found shadow under it, and the birds of the air dwelt in its branches, and all flesh was fed from it.[10]

No less interesting is the parallel between the Temple as an image of the 'heavenly dwelling' and the sanctuary which God on Mount Sinai commands Moses to build. 'And let them make me a sanctuary', the children of Israel are told, 'that I may dwell in their midst. According to all that I show you concerning the pattern of the tabernacle, and of all its furniture, so you shall make it',[11] a reference to heavenly 'patterns' also repeated, as we have seen, in the separate command concerning the menorah.

'But will God indeed dwell on the earth?' asks Solomon at the dedication of the Temple. 'Yet have regard to the prayer of thy servant and to his supplication . . .' he continues, 'that thy eyes[12] may be open night and day toward this house, the place of which thou hast said, "My name shall be there" '[13] – in other words, a key passage to the concept of Name and its Presence (Shekinah) in the Holy of Holies of the sanctuary.

Subsequently, the Temple hill Moriah is often referred to as God's sacred mountain,[14] Jerusalem as the Center of the Universe and 'earth-navel' (so also in Christian tradition),[15] and the spring issuing from beneath the Temple hill as a future River of Paradise, alongside which the leaves of the trees 'will not wither nor their fruit fail'.[16]

As regards other parallels, it should be noted that Hebrew sacral rulers, too, were anointed with oil at their investiture, a practice even followed when dedicating the sanctuary or its vessels. Hence, for instance, the well-known name Messiah (The Anointed) for the Saviour, in Greek *Khristos*. And concerning the use of wreaths at the coronation of kings – in the oldest oriental tradition equivalent to the wedding rite – it is said in the Song of Songs: 'Go forth, O daughters of Zion, and behold King Solomon, with the crown with which his mother crowned him on the day of his wedding, and on the day of the gladness of his heart.'[17]

Last but not least, Aaron's or rather Moses'[18] magical rod – as will appear later likewise a branch of a sacred tree – is said by the rabbinic legend to have been 'in the hand of every king of Israel until the Temple was destroyed, when it was hidden away . . . destined to be in the hand of the King Messiah'.[19]

It may be added that Christian royal sceptres have largely the same derivation, and the cross on the orb (also the earth's astronomical sign ♁) symbolizes nothing other than a Tree of Life growing at the center of the earth.[20] This identification of the cross with the Tree of Life or Christ himself[21] – the 'shoot from the stump of Jesse' (Is. XI, 1 ff., Rom. XV, 12) – became especially popular in medieval literature.[22] It presumably also lies behind the Christmas tree of later tradition – in Germany, where it originated, still called the Tree of Christ. Similarly, the usual decoration of the Christmas tree with candles – according to some reports introduced by Martin Luther[23] – is a feature which, as we shall see, it shares with both the Life Tree and the menorah.

REPRESENTATIONS of sacred trees or their branches appear on even the oldest finds. As a rule they are depicted with considerable realism, but sometimes seven-branched – a number connected with the Mesopotamian mysticism of seven, common to several ancient religions. Hence, for instance, the Sabbath, the Seventh Heaven or the Seven Gifts of the Holy Spirit.[24]

Most of these representations have been found engraved on cylinder seals or in relief on vases and bowls,[25] the tree being flanked by animals or human figures, evidently its guardians and tenders, occasionally also with some heavenly body above it. Such an early seven-branched tree – curiously round-branched and flanked by animals – on a Mesopotamian stone vase from Khafaje, dated before 3000 B.C., is reproduced in fig. 213. Another example, also from Mesopotamia (*c.* 2200–2000 B.C.), is a famous seal, now at the British Museum, popularly known as the Cylinder of the Temptation[26] and showing the tree – here seven-

branched, besides the stem – flanked by a man and a woman, with a snake in the background (fig. 214).

On Egyptian monuments, on the other hand, especially from the sixteenth to the thirteenth century B.C., one often finds a sacred tree from which a goddess (Nut) or only her arms hold forth the Fruit and Drink of Life (figs. 216, 217); alternatively a cosmic tree on which the gods 'carve' the fate of a Pharaoh sitting in front of it (fig. 218), clearly an illustration of the notion 'it is written in the stars'.[27]

Another interesting group, though of somewhat later date, consists of the Assyrian palace reliefs from Nineveh and Dur-Sharrukin (about 700 B.C.). Here the temple is usually depicted with a sacred grove and a river (figs. 219, 220), thus by all accounts a realistic representation of a temple garden. Significantly enough, the temple and tree motif appears as far east as Japan, where a sacred tree is sometimes shown crowned with a temple, presumably celestial, its earthly counterpart being pictured at the foot of the tree (fig. 221).

Finally, two particularly important finds. One is an antique Greek vase painting, possibly associating to Near-Eastern tradition, in which a seven-branched palm – the origin of the latter emerges from its Greek name *Phoinix* (Phoenician) – is shown beside an altar (fig. 222).[28] It may be added that, according to Pausanias (*c.* A.D. 150), there was a sacred tree, the olive tree of Athena, near Erechtheion on the Acropolis at Athens,[29] and another at Olympia, where it grew near an altar and was called 'the olive tree of the beautiful wreaths',[30] apparently an allusion to the laurel wreaths of the Games.

The second find, unique in the present context and previously overlooked[31] at the Louvre, is a bituminous stone bowl from Susa (about 2300 B.C.). On this cherubs guard several identical seven-branched trees, their resemblance to the Temple lampstand being such that it is not difficult to imagine the tapered branches curving upwards as in fig. 213, to represent an almost perfect menorah, with the correct proportions and divisions of the shaft (fig. 6, note also the 'divine hands' at the end of the branches).

Here, on archaeological grounds, one cannot help questioning the view that the menorah existed only in post-exilic times, especially as representations of sacred trees occur in Palestine, for instance on a pitcher from Lakish (Tell el-Duweir), as early as the thirteenth century B.C. (fig. 223),[32] on clay 'altars' from Taanak near Megiddo, about the tenth century B.C. (fig. 224),[33] and on seals of various kind, all from pre-exilic period (figs. 225, 226). Rather, as one scholar

pointed out, it is difficult 'not to assume a very old artistic tradition in Israel, developed under the influence of a Mesopotamian pattern . . . For how are we then to explain the perfect coincidence between the Sumerian representation [fig. 6] and the Jewish candle-stick? A Mesopotamian influence is easy to assume in remote periods but not in post-exilic times.'[34]

AT what juncture the tree began to be stylized is difficult to ascertain, but this too was relatively early. Most probably it was in connection with notions that deities – particularly fertility goddesses – have their dwelling-place in or are descended from sacred trees, and the ensuing cult of tree-idols and burning trees.[35] Thus, for instance, the Babylonian Ishtar was believed to dwell in a sacred tree, the Egyptian Nut, as we have seen, had her abode in and was thought to be descended from a tree[36] – both, it may be added, androgynous deities;[37] and when the God of Israel revealed himself to Moses for the first time he 'dwelt', as we know, in a burning bush or tree that was 'not consumed'.[38]

There occurs at all events at this juncture a rapid widening and deepening of the symbolism, the fire-lights replacing the Life Fruit and the divine tree itself becoming more specifically a burning tree – a Tree of Light – and a cosmic tree. For while the fire-lights on the tree – suspended or attached – were thus made to stand for life,[39] they could now also symbolize the heavenly bodies or 'celestial lights' which were thought to hover above or be carried by the sacred tree.

There is a remarkable description of such a tree, behind a 'curtain', in the heavenly temple of the Mandaeans[40] – a gnostic (possibly pre-Christian) sect displaying several similarities with Judaism. In *Ginza* (Treasure), edited about A.D. 600 in an East-Aramaic dialect resembling the language of the Babylonian Talmud, we read:

> Winds, winds took away Shitil [the Saviour], the son of Adam, storms, storms led him away, made him ascend and placed him near the watch-house of Shilmai [priestly title], the man, the treasurer, who is holding the pins of splendour by his hand and the keys of Kushta [the true Belief] on (his) two arms. They opened for him the gate of the treasure house, lifted up for him the great curtain of Truth, brought him in and showed him that vine whose inner part is splendour, whose sides are light, whose heels are water, and whose branches Uthras [heavenly beings], whose leaves are lanterns of light, and whose seed is the great root of souls.[41]

From here, of course, it was but a step to a lampstand, a development which is clearly reflected in pictorial representation, especially on cylinder seals: the leaves and fruit of the tree are gradually replaced by dots or balls,[42] now only at the ends of the branches, and the whole begins increasingly to resemble 'a combination of altar, tree, . . . and candelabrum'[43] (figs. 226–230).

Chapter 6

THE AMYGDALA LINK

It must have been through a similar stylization of Israel's sacred tree – apparently an almond tree combined with notions of a burning bush – that the menorah evolved. A stylization, it may be presumed, that the struggle against tree cult or Asherah-images[1] made still more imperative.

That the almond was originally conceived as a Tree of Life, indeed most probably the mythological Paradise Tree itself, is clear from the circumstance that Aaron's master sceptre, also referred to as the 'rod of God',[2] is likewise described as a branch of almond: 'And . . . Moses went into the tent of testimony; and behold, the rod of Aaron . . . had sprouted, and put forth buds, and produced blossoms, and it bore ripe almonds.'[3]

Curiously enough, although the menorah's ornamentation has often been noted, the deeper reasons for it have not been analysed, partly no doubt because the Tree of Life, a concept inserted into Genesis as early as the ninth century B.C., is significantly never mentioned in the Bible by a generic name, while late-Jewish tradition and the art of succeeding ages often think of it as a vine (thus presumably the golden vine in the Second Temple),[4] palm or other tree.[5]

And yet the almond is the first tree of spring in the Near East, sometimes waking as early as mid-December, when it decks itself in radiant white[6] – at bottom pinky – blossoms even before leafing (frontispiece), besides being 'the last to shed its leaves'.[7] In short, an ideal image of life, resurrection and 'White Goddess', whose fruit – in itself a delicacy[8] and early appreciated for its medical and cosmetic properties – has been described as 'perfect'. For as we read in an antique source, the seed and edible part, unlike most other fruits, are identical, both 'a beginning and an end; a beginning in that it springs from no other power than itself, an end in that it is the aspiration of the life which follows nature'.[8a]

The tree's etymology is no less fascinating. Firstly, its archaic, by all accounts Semitic name Amygdala, still its botanical term (*Amygdalus communis*), means conceivably Great Mother (אם גדלה)[9] – a prototypal, apparently Mesopotamian[10] fertility goddess and image of All Living (at times also of All-Father and Child)[11] that later, *inter alia*,[12] was identified in Phrygia with Cybele and known at Rome, where the cult was adopted in 204 B.C., as *Mater Magna*.[13]

Next, the tree's early biblical name Luz[14] – still used in Arabic and Ethiopian – was originally synonymous with the Canaanite 'City of Almond', a sacred place since time immemorial, where God is said to have revealed himself to Jacob (the Ladder dream), who then renamed it Bethel (God's house).[15] At that time, it is worth recalling, 'nearly every sanctuary in Palestine possessed its sacred tree and often it was the tree which determined the character of the place'.[16] Later on Luz, according to the Bible, is also a city in 'the land of the Hittites', founded by an emigrant from Bethel,[17] in the rabbinic legend a miraculous Paradise city, where the entry is through a hole in an almond tree,[18] and where 'the angel of death has no power'.[19] In other words, once more a symbol of life and immortality, something which also explains the word's subsequent use in Aramaic, where Luz stands for both the almond and the 'indestructible' bone in the spinal column (*os coccyx*) which, as was believed, will serve as the nucleus for the resurrection of the body (*os resurrectionis*).[20]

Finally, the almond tree's second and definitive biblical name Shaqed,[21] literally the Watchful or Hastener – evidently an allusion to its appearance in Nature, but also with certain theistic associations; for in the vision of Jeremiah, which probably reflects the older notions, it becomes a symbol of God's watching power:

> And the word of the Lord came to me, saying, 'Jeremiah, what do you see?' And I said, 'I see a rod of almond [shaqed].' Then the Lord said to me, 'You have seen well, for I am watching [shoqed] over my word to perform it.'[22]

It is thus this profound sacral symbolism – scarcely fortuitous – that explains the connection of the almond tree with the menorah. A symbolism which encompasses all stages of a protracted religious development from early Semitic polytheism to Israel's monotheism, from the archaic Great Mother to the One Invisible God.

In course of time the tree's blossoms were apparently stylized to what the Bible calls 'cups [perianths]' each 'with capital [calyx] and flower [petals]', while its fruit, the Fruit of Life, was transformed into symbolic fire-lights at the ends of the branches, 'the whole of it' – to mark its organic unity – being made in 'one

piece' 18 handbreadths high, a number perhaps not entirely accidental, as it is the numerical value of the letters forming the Hebrew 'Living' (חי), traditionally two almost interchangeable concepts. Whether at the outset or at another date is of course not known, but at some time the three pairs of branches were curved so as to end in line with the top of the shaft. Thus there was created the specific form which according to Josephus distinguished the menorah from other lamp-stands of antiquity, apparently even those resembling a tree (fig. 230).[23]

Chapter 7

INTERPRETATIONS

SEEN in historical perspective, it is evident that the menorah must have been interpreted differently at different times, nor can any single explanation be regarded as exclusively valid.

In the earlier periods the Tree of Life symbolism was certainly more pronounced, as is only natural considering the predominance of these ideas generally at that stage. Something of this early tree-mysticism is perhaps still behind the tree-planting cult of contemporary Israel, almost unique in our time. And in the writings of Buber, a modern Jewish mystic, we find the following concerning Thou-saying and the tree:

> I consider a tree . . . I can look on it as a picture: stiff column in a shock of light, or splash of green shot with the delicate blue and silver of the background. I can perceive it as movement . . . I can classify it in a species and study it as a type in its structure and mode of life. I can subdue its actual presence and form so sternly that I recognise it only as an expression of law . . . I can dissipate it and perpetuate it in number, in pure numerical relation. In all this the tree remains my object . . . It can, however, also come about, if I have both will and grace, that in considering the tree I become bound up in relation to it. The tree is now no longer *It*.[1]
>
> That living wholeness and unity of the tree, which denies itself to the sharpest glance of the mere investigator and discloses itself to the glance of one who says *Thou*, is there when he, the sayer of *Thou*, is there: it is *he* who vouchsafes to the tree that it manifest this unity and wholeness; and now the tree which is in being manifests them. Our habit of thought makes it difficult

for us to see that here, awakened by our attitude, something lights up and approaches us from the course of being. In the sphere we are talking of we have to do justice, in complete candour, to the reality which discloses itself to us.[2]

In later interpretations, the lampstand's cosmic character appears to have come more to the fore through astral notions. This, at all events, seems to be suggested by Zechariah's fifth vision, where the seven menorah lamps are said to symbolize the seven 'eyes of the Lord, which range through the whole earth'[3] – an allegory that is usually interpreted as referring to the sun and planets,[4] on Mesopotamian and Egyptian monuments, it has been observed, likewise occurring as 'eyes'[5] or oil lamps.[6]

Characteristically enough, there are also two imaginary olive trees in the vision of Zechariah, one on each side of the menorah,[7] supplying it with oil (life power), presumably in its capacity as original Life image.[8] This is said to be accomplished by means of two olive branches, evidently one from each tree, extending to two 'golden pipes' or receptacles from which the oil is 'poured out' to the lampstand,[9] the latter described as 'all of gold, with a bowl [possibly 'crown' or branched upper part] on the top of it, and seven lamps on it, with seven lips on each of the lamps which are on the top of it'.[10]

To this cosmic and life imagery is added, finally, a third, more Messianic one, with the menorah symbolizing – as so often later – Israel's freedom (the Temple and Jerusalem),[11] and the two attendant trees 'the two anointed who stand by the Lord [or Temple of the Lord] of the whole earth'.[12] Thus a sort of double Messiah, a temporal and religious power – a Prince (Zerubbabel) and a High Priest (Joshua) – who will now, after the return from Babylon, rebuild the Jewish Commonwealth.[13]

That the symbolism of the menorah became influenced by cosmic notions is hardly surprising, considering the influence that astronomy always exerted on religious thinking. This not least in the Near East, where the great discoveries of the Mesopotamian astronomers 'won', as one scholar put it, 'such prestige for their beliefs that they spread . . . as far as India, China, and Indo-China, . . . Egypt, and over the whole of the Roman world'.[14]

It is evident that Israel, too, was bound to be influenced by these notions. 'It is difficult to fix the date at which the influence of the "Chaldaeans" began to be felt in Syria,' continues the same scholar, 'but it is certainly not later than . . . the eighth century B.C.; and without admitting, with the Pan-Babylonists, that

the stories of Genesis are merely astral myths, we may regard it as indisputable that before the Exile . . . Israel received from Babylon, along with some astronomical knowledge, certain beliefs connected with star-worship and astrology.'[15]

Of the observed stars, particular interest was attracted at an early date by the seven known members of our planetary system – Mercury, Venus, the Moon, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn, with the Sun at the center. What was found fascinating, was the independent movements of these heavenly bodies – deviating as they do from the fixed stars – which were taken to indicate supernatural properties. Hence, in its turn, the Mesopotamian concept of seven planet-gods as 'Interpreters' of Heaven's intentions and man's fate;[16] later also the Greek idea that the stars, as Aristotle says, are 'more divine' than man. Plato, who calls the planets 'visible gods', even has Timaeus derive from them the concept of Time:

> Time . . . came into existence along with Heaven, to the end that having been generated together they might also be dissolved together, if ever a dissolution of them should take place; and it was made after the pattern of the Eternal Nature, to the end that it might be as like thereto as possible; for whereas the pattern is existent through all eternity, the copy, on the other hand, is through all time . . . Wherefore, as a consequence of this reasoning and design on the part of God, with a view to the generation of Time, the sun and moon and five other stars, which bear the appellation of 'planets', came into existence for the determining and preserving of the numbers of Time.[17]

Apart from the planets, great interest was shown in the Pole Star of the northern sky, though for opposite reasons. As the only fixed and at the same time 'highest' point of the firmament (at present about 1° from the pole of the heavens), it was conceived, not unnaturally, as the very top of the Universe and World Tree, a tract where the Creator and Eternal Ruler is likely to have his abode.[18] This latter notion of the deity's seat determined, it would seem, the chief god's character,[19] both in Mesopotamia (An, Anu) and in other religions, but most strikingly in Israel's monotheism. There, too, as we recall, the Most High dwells 'in the far north' (whence the menorah orientation); but the various cosmic forces, e.g. the planets, are simply different manifestations of the creative power of the One.

WHEN we come to Graeco-Roman times the cosmic symbolism, via the natural philosophy of the Middle Stoa (150–50 B.C.), becomes even more pronounced. In the final analysis, however, it is all still Mesopotamian astronomy, which at this

later stage is pre-eminently empirical and scientific, an algebra-astronomy at the height of knowledge and practice. It avails itself, for instance, of irrational numbers and ecliptic systems of co-ordinates, assumes, unlike the Greeks, the boundlessness of Cosmos or Heavens, and is presumably behind the heliocentric 'Copernican' world system launched early in the third century B.C. by Aristarchus at Alexandria, but soon forgotten in the West.[20]

Josephus, clearly speaking not only for himself, writes of the sanctuary and its vessels:

> The first gate [of the porch] was seventy cubits [105 feet] high and twenty-five [37½] broad[21] and had no doors, displaying unexcluded the void expanse of heaven; the entire face [of the porch] was covered with gold, and through it [the gate and vestibule] the first edifice was visible to a spectator without in all its grandeur and the surroundings of the inner gate . . . fell beneath his eye . . . The [latter] gate opening [from the vestibule] into the building had . . . above it those golden vines, from which depended grape clusters as tall as a man;[22] and it had golden doors fifty-five cubits [82½ feet] high and sixteen [24] broad. Before these hung a veil of equal length, of Babylonian tapestry, with embroidery of [purple-]blue and fine linen, of scarlet also and purple [-red], wrought with marvellous skill. Nor was this mixture of materials without its mystic meaning: it typified the universe. For the scarlet seemed emblematical of fire, the fine linen of the earth, the [purple-]blue of the air, and the purple[-red] of the sea; the comparison in two cases being suggested by their colour, and in that of the fine linen and purple[-red] by their origin, as the one is produced by the earth and the other by the sea [from shellfish]. On this tapestry was portrayed a panorama of the heavens, the signs of the Zodiac excepted.
>
> Passing within one found oneself in the ground floor of the sanctuary. This was sixty cubits [90 feet] in height, the same in length, and twenty cubits [30 feet] in breadth. But the sixty cubits [90 feet] of its length were again divided. The first portion, partitioned off at forty cubits [60 feet], contained within it three most wonderful works of art, universally renowned: a lampstand, a table, and an altar of incense. The seven lamps (such being the number of the branches from the lampstand) represented the planets; the loaves on the table, twelve in number, the circle of the Zodiac and the year; while the altar of incense, by the thirteen fragrant spices from sea and from land, both

desert and inhabited, with which it was replenished, signified that all things are of God and for God.

The innermost recess measured twenty cubits [30 feet], and was screened in like manner from the outer portion by a veil. In this stood nothing whatever: unapproachable, inviolable, invisible to all, it was called the Holy of Holy.[23]

Josephus adds elsewhere that the tripartition of the sanctuary was a parallel to that of the Universe, with the Forecourt and the Holy Place, like the sea and the earth, accessible to man, in contrast to the Holy of Holies which was as inaccessible as the Heavens.[24] Further, that the seventy ornaments counted by him on the menorah corresponded to the sum of the ten-degree fields or decans ascribed to each of the seven planets.[25] And finally, that Aaron's robes worn by the High Priest (the same as the robes of Prophets and Kings)[26] also had a cosmic import, as regards both colour and their adornment with precious stones.[27] Thus a clear parallel to the well-known cosmic vestments or World Mantle of the Mesopotamian Marduk and, later, of the Roman and medieval Christian emperors.[28]

That similar, though not always identical interpretations, were common outside Jerusalem even before the time of Josephus is attested, for instance, by Philo of Alexandria (*c.* 30 B.C.–*c.* A.D. 50), who says in one passage that 'everyone knows' about the planetary symbolism of the menorah.[29] Notwithstanding this, Philo himself appears to have made a considerable contribution in this field. A younger contemporary of Hillel and an older of Jesus, Philo had one great aim in life, namely to unite the Law of Moses and oriental thought with Greek – chiefly Plato's – philosophy, an aim which he realized in several works, most of them extant and of fundamental importance in the later philosophies of three world religions.[30]

In his more popular passages on the menorah,[31] almost identical, be it noted, with his comments on the Tree of Life,[32] Philo first establishes what is already a familiar principle. Of the cult objects in the sanctuary, the menorah – 'a copy' or model of the planetary system – symbolizes the Heavens (Cosmos), while the altar of incense represents the Four Elements (Matter) and the table of shewbread all 'mortal creatures framed from these elements'.[33]

This explains, says Philo, why the dimensions of the menorah are not stated in the commandment, but only its weight, since the Heavens are likewise unbounded and 'immeasurable'.[34] It is also why the menorah is made in one piece,

in order, like the Heavens, to constitute an entity,[35] and of pure gold, since the Heavens too consist of a single substance ('quintessence/aether').[36] Further, he adds, the branches of the menorah project 'obliquely' from the shaft to resemble the Zodiac,[37] which is the path of the planets, and its central lamp gives light to the other lamps just as the sun does in the planetary system.[38] Finally, says Philo, the menorah stands at the southern wall of the sanctuary because the planets move within the southern part of the celestial hemisphere[39] (only correct, of course, if observed north of the tropics).

In addition to this materialistic interpretation, Philo puts forward, in other passages, an apparently more independent Platonic allegory. Now Plato in his theory of Ideas or Forms assumes, as we know, that ultimate reality is immaterial and consequently cannot be apprehended by the Senses, only by Intellect and Reason. Seen in this way, even the planetary system is only a reflection of its prototype, its 'ideal' form, i.e. by all accounts the same as the heavenly 'pattern' of the menorah which Moses was shown on the Mount.

'The menorah', says Philo on its northern orientation, 'gives light from one part only, that is, the part with which it looks toward God . . . It sends its beams upwards toward the One, as though feeling that its light is too bright for human eyes to look upon it.'[40] The whole obviously implying that the Light which emanates from God into the Universe and is symbolized by the planetary system (menorah lamps), shines, ideally, back to God, since the Universe, says Philo, is constantly worshipping its Creator.[41]

From this it follows, he opines, that the light of the menorah is like Sarah (in contrast to Sarai),[42] a sort of spiritualized Great Mother or 'Virgin Mother' of Nations, embodying the cosmic 'female principle'.[43] But it is above all Logos and Sophia, i.e. God's Power and Wisdom[44] in the Universe, formally manifested in the planetary system but actually in the sun (the central lamp), which is the source of light for all the rest.[45] Similarly also in eschatological speculation of later Judaism, here often identified with the Messiah, in early Christendom with Jesus (or the Holy Spirit) and the churches. John begins his great Apocalypse:

> It was on the Lord's day, and I was caught up by the Spirit; and behind me I heard a loud voice, like the sound of a trumpet, which said to me, 'Write down what you see on a scroll and send it to the seven churches: to Ephesus, Smyrna, Pergamum, Thyatira, Sardis, Philadelphia, and Laodicea.' I turned to see whose voice it was that spoke to me; and when I turned I saw seven

> standing lamps of gold [the seven churches], and among the lamps one like a son of man, robed down to his feet, with a golden girdle round his breast . . . In his right hand he held seven stars [the guardian angels of the churches], . . . and his face shone like the sun in full strength.[46]

That such theistic interpretations – implied already in Zechariah – were consciously shared by the majority of Jews is of course unlikely, though they certainly have been entertained by some. Thus on the tombstone from Almyr mentioned above, belonging to one 'Eusebius the Alexandrian and . . . his wife Theodora', a Greek inscription under the lampstand is usually restored to read 'Image of God who sees' (fig. 144) – a reference, apparently, both to Genesis, 'Thou art a God of seeing',[47] and to Zechariah's seven menorah lights as 'the eyes of the Lord'.[48] Something similar is found on another of the tombstones already referred to, namely from Venosa, here with a Hebrew inscription accompanying the lampstand reading 'Of fire' (fig. 128),[49] possibly an allusion to the burning bush of Moses, likewise a direct symbol of Deity.

Commenting upon this, a scholar writes: 'The possibility that Eusebius', i.e. the man upon whose tombstone 'Image of God' was engraved, was himself 'the inventor of this conception of the menorah is very slight, and just as slight are the chances that every Jew anywhere who scratched a menorah upon his father's tombstone had the same sense that he was putting a symbol of Deity: but the possibility is strong that we have here a clue to the meaning of the menorah for those who did understand.'[50]

IT is interesting in this context to note that similar interpretations – to judge from the Talmud, originally Priestly notions[51] – appear also in later literature, in the writings, for instance, of Saadya Gaon (882–942),[52] the great reformer of medieval rabbinism, but above all in the Midrashim (third to twelfth centuries) and in the *Zohar* of Cabbala (about 1300).

The light of the menorah, it is stated in the Midrashim, is the Light of God and the Torah, often with the emphasis on the latter;[53] and its seven lamps are the seven 'stars' or planets which, like the 'eyes of the Lord' in Zechariah, 'range' through the whole earth.[54] The earthly menorah, however, continues one commentary, is inferior to its heavenly 'pattern', for God's Light is mightier than that of the heavenly bodies, which only reflect the former. But just as a king invited to a subject uses the host's, not his own, tableware, so is God's Light

among the mortals – only 'a hundreth part' of the original – 'constrained to dwell' in a lamp, despite the fact that the latter is man-made.[55]

And concerning the perpetual burning of this lamp, another passage runs roughly as follows: 'God is the Light of the universe, . . . yet he commands that a lamp be lighted to give light back to God, as a blind man was asked to kindle a lamp in a house for a man who had guided him to it. So God has led Israel by his light, and in gratitude Israel is to give light in return, thereby enhancing its dignity before the other nations, for as Israel elevates the lighted menorah, Israel is itself elevated. The light of the menorah does not perish as must even the Temple, but in its continued burning symbolizes the fact that God's blessings endure forever for his children.'[56]

There is no mistaking the agreement in principle between the above reasoning and Philo's, even though the terms Logos and Sophia are not mentioned. What makes these interpretations even more interesting, however, is their appearance after the destruction of Jerusalem, and hence the reference to the continued burning of 'the light' – an important point, for during the period in question it almost certainly refers to the Eternal Light.[57]

A further and no less symptomatic consequence of the fall of the Temple is, as mentioned in the foregoing, a greater emphasis on the Law as the Divine Light of the menorah and, consequently, also a stronger assertion of the promises of salvation and reward. Thus in one commentary, it is said that since Israel made the menorah for God, the latter will make it shine on Israel 'sevenfold in the Messianic Age'; and as Israel also made the Torah shrine, the reward for this will be 'endless'.[58] Further, that since Israel keeps the light burning before God (evidently once again the Eternal Light), their souls will be preserved 'from all evil things'; for as the proverb runs, 'The spirit of man is the lamp of the Lord.'[59] Finally, it is stated, when in the fullness of time the Temple shall rise again, the golden menorah will likewise be restored to its place 'to gladden Jerusalem'.[60]

In the *Zohar* of mysticism – a work of which it has been said that it wished to give 'neither doctrine, nor guidance', but 'something of the splendour of eternity over faith and life'[61] – the menorah is similarly the Light of God (here a primal cosmic force called the Infinite or En-Sof)[62] and thereby of the Law, and 'whoever takes hold of this achieves life in this world and in the world to come'.[63] But also, significantly enough, it is an inverted cosmic tree, a 'Tree of Life [which] extends from above downward', and a 'Sun which illumines all', like a 'bridegroom'

shedding light on his bride. Thus, concludes the text, the lighting of the menorah contains 'an allusion to celestial lamps, all of which are lit together from the radiance of the sun', a symbolism clearly derived from the Psalter:

> The heavens are telling the glory of God . . . In them he has set a tent for the sun, which comes forth like a bridegroom leaving his chamber, and like a strong man runs its course with joy. Its rising is from the end of the heavens, and its circuit to the end of them; and there is nothing hid from its heat.[64]

This is complemented in the same section with a scene which bears a striking resemblance to Plato's renowned Simile of the Cave,[65] where the cave stands for life on earth and man's difficulty in distinguishing between shadow and reality, the former symbolized by the cave's semi-light (Illusion and Belief), the latter by the sunlight outside as the ultimate reality (Reason, Intelligence and Goodness).[66]

In the *Zohar* scene referred to, four rabbis are in a cave engaged in a discussion that is carried on against the background of a voice heard earlier, which said: 'When you set up the lamps, the seven lamps shall give light in front of the lamp-stand', i.e. towards the North, as prescribed in the commandment. 'Here', continued the voice, 'the Community of Israel receives the light whilst the supernal Mother is crowned, and all the lamps are illumined from Her.' In other words, the light of the menorah is once more the Divine Light of the Law which leads man on earth, in the scene apparently the cave,[67] and it is symbolized chiefly by the central lamp (the sun), which – like Philo's Sarah – is the Supernal Mother who gives light to the other lamps.

AFTER this it is tempting to refer to Goethe's well-known Faust figure, often identified with modern, secularized man, thirsting for knowledge. For it is significant that in the very first scene of the drama, Goethe introduces Faust with a primal image which seems curiously akin to – perhaps even identical with – the menorah. Oddly enough, the menorah has not been noticed in this context, despite the fact that Goethe's interest in classical antiquity has long been known, as have his cabbalistic studies preparatory to *Faust*.

After opening the wonderful book 'from Nostradamus' very hand',[68] Faust catches sight of the Sign of the Macrocosm and exclaims: 'Was it a god who wrote these signs . . . unveiling with mysterious potency the powers of Nature round about me here? . . . All grows so clear to me!'[69]

He looks more closely at the sign and describes it:

> Into the whole how all things blend,
> Each in the other working, living!
> How heavenly powers ascend, descend,
> Each unto each the golden vessels giving!
> On pinions fragrant blessings bringing,
> From Heaven through Earth all onward winging,
> Through all the All harmonious ringing![70]

The general appearance of this macrocosmic image has been much debated. It used to be conceived as a six-pointed star or 'Jacob's ladder',[71] but more recent Goethe research rightly dismisses this as impossible. The notion of the harmony of cosmic forces, 'golden vessels', etc. – it is said – 'cannot possibly be, in actuality never was, combined with this iconographic tradition'.[72] The mention of vessels, it is considered, implies heavenly bodies – a tradition of a macrocosmic image with roots in 'early Greek philosophy and Oriental speculation', to be more precise, in 'the Middle Stoa and the Neo-Pythagoreans',[73] something that in Renaissance and Baroque Europe was chiefly known through Cicero, Philo and the Cabbala. This also emerges from a similar passage in Milton's *Paradise Lost*, the young Goethe's favourite reading, concerning the creation of the heavenly bodies:

> Of Light by far the greater part he took,
> Transplanted from her cloudy shrine, and placed
> In the sun's orb, made porous to receive
> And drink the liquid light, firm to retain
> Her gathered beams, great palace now of light.
> Hither as to their fountain other stars
> Repairing, in their golden urns draw light.[74]

That 'golden vessels', like the 'golden urns', here stand for planets that get their light from the sun is implicit. If, moreover, the whole is related to Nostradamus and his book, i.e. the book in which Faust catches sight of the master sign, the inter-connection becomes still more striking. For Michel Nostradamus (1503–66), physician to Charles IX of France and through his book – a collection of prophecies in verse – one of the most renowned mystics of the Renaissance, was of Jewish descent,[75] and should rather be seen here as a representative for the Cabbala and kindred doctrines.[76]

According to his own statement, Nostradamus, like Faust, is sitting alone at night in his study, but he already possesses the knowledge which Faust is so anxious to acquire: 'So that I may perceive whatever holds the world together in its inmost folds, see all its seeds, its working power . . .'[77] The scene is described in two quatrains, both strongly symbolic and obscure; so much appears to be clear, however, that he likewise uses a powerful primal image which he claims to hold in his hand and describes as 'a rod . . . in the middle of the branches'.[78]

The latter seems to have escaped the attention of criticism. It speaks in general of Nostradamus' rod or sceptre,[79] admittedly an important motif, but a rod 'in the middle of the branches' – presumably a tree or a lampstand – is scarcely the same as just 'a rod'. 'Dear friend, all theory is grey, and green the golden tree of life', we read in one passage in *Faust*.[80] An indication, if any, that Goethe was familiar with this symbolism too.

FINALLY, on the threshold of our own time, Theodor Herzl, the father of modern Israel, wondered prophetically: 'Would it not be possible to give back to . . . the menorah its life, to water its roots like those of a tree?' The question, posed about half a century before the adoption of the emblem as Israel's coat-of-arms, appeared in an article published in connection with Hanukkah 1897, when Herzl celebrated the feast for the first time with his children and lit an eight-branched Hanukkah menorah.

'A menorah was procured', Herzl writes in the third person, 'and when for the first time he held this eight-branched lampstand in his hand he felt strangely moved. In his parental home, too, the little flame had burned in his distant childhood, and there was something familiar and homely in its light. The tradition did not seem cold and dead. It had travelled through the ages, the one light lighting the other. Also the primal form of the menorah gave him food for thought. When had this lampstand got its original structure? The form had evidently been taken at one time from the tree. In the middle the thicker trunk, to the right and left four branches, all in one plane, all eight of the same length . . . What mysterious interpretations has generation after generation put into this originally simple artistic form taken from Nature? . . . The very sound of the name, which now he uttered to his children every evening, also enchanted him. There was an accent in it that was especially lovely when the word came from the mouth of a child.

The first light was lit, and in this connection the origin of the festival was explained. The wonderful incident of the little flame that lived for such an

unexpectedly long time, the story of the return from the Babylonian exile, of the Second Temple, of the Maccabees. Our friend told his children what he knew. This was not much, but it was enough for them. At the second light they told the same story to him, and when they told it, it seemed to him quite new and so beautiful, although they had got everything from him. From that time he looked forward every day to the evening, which became brighter and brighter. Light after light was lit on the menorah, and the children and their father gazed dreamily into the little lights. There was at last more than he could or would tell them, since it was nevertheless beyond their comprehension.

When he resolved to return home to his ancestral stock and openly declare this return, he had only thought to do something honest and reasonable. That on his way home he should also have his longing for beauty satisfied he had not guessed. And yet it was nothing less than this that happened to him. The menorah, with its growing light, was something very beautiful, and it inspired higher thoughts. So he sat down and with a practised hand drew a sketch of the menorah that he would give his children the next year. He worked out freely the motif with the eight branches of equal height which lie on either side of the shaft in the same plane. He did not consider himself bound by the old, traditional form, but created freshly from Nature herself, not caring about other interpretations, which of course might also have their justification. It was living beauty he sought. But even if he imparted new movement to the old forms, he nevertheless worked within the bounds of the original idea, the ancient, noble style for their arrangement. It was a tree with slender branches, whose ends opened like chalices, and in these flower-cups the lights were to be placed.

In this work full of thought the week passed. The eighth day arrived, when the whole row is burning, including the faithful ninth flame, the lighter, which otherwise exists to light the others with. A clear light streamed from the menorah. The children's eyes shone. But for our man the whole became a parable for the nation's rebirth. At first one light, when it is still dark, and the solitary light looks sad. Then it gets a companion, yet another, more and more. The darkness must give way. Among the young and the poor it shines first, then come the others, who love right, truth, freedom, progress, humanity, beauty. When all the lights are shining there is astonishment and gladness at the work that has been accomplished. And no calling gives greater happiness than the calling in the service of Light.'[81]

ABBREVIATIONS AND NOTES

ABBREVIATIONS

A – Journals, Works of Reference, Miscellaneous Works

AfO *Archiv für Orientforschung.*

AHw W. von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*, Wiesbaden, 1965 ff.

ANEP *The Ancient Near East in Pictures Relating to the Old Testament*, ed. J. B. Pritchard, Princeton, 1954.

ANET *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*, ed. J. B. Pritchard, 2nd ed., Princeton, 1954.

AO *Der Alte Orient.*

'Atiqot *'Atiqot, Journal of the Israel Department of Antiquities.*

BASOR *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research.*

BCA *Bulletino della Commissione Archeologica Communale di Roma.*

Bibl. Heb. R. Kittel & P. Kahle, *Biblia Hebraica*, 3rd ed. ff., Stuttgart, 1937 and after.

BJPES *Bulletin of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society.*

BRL K. Galling, *Biblisches Reallexikon*, Tübingen, 1937 (Handbuch zum Alten Testament, Ser. I, 1).

Bull. Rab. *Bulletin, Louis M. Rabinowitz Fund for the Exploration of Ancient Synagogues*, The Department of Archaeology, Hebrew University, Jerusalem.

BZAW *Beihefte z. ZAW.*

BZNW *Beihefte z. ZNW.*

CAD *Chicago Assyrian Dictionary*, The Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, Chicago–Glückstadt, 1956 ff.

CII J.-B. Frey, *Corpus inscriptionum iudaicarum: Recueil des inscriptions juives qui vont du IIIe siècle avant Jésus-Christ au VIIe siècle de notre ère*, Rome, 1936–.

CIL *Corpus inscriptionum latinarum*, Berlin, 1863 ff.

CIS *Corpus inscriptionum semiticarum*, Paris, 1881–.

CSHB *Corpus scriptorum historiae byzantinae*, Bonn, 1828 ff.

DACL *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, ed. F. Cabrol & H. Leclercq, Paris, 1907 ff.

EI *Eretz-Israel: Archaeological, Historical and Geographical Studies*, Israel Exploration Society.

Enc. Bibl. *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, ed. T. K. Cheyne & J. S. Black, New York–London, 1899–1903.

Enc. Brit. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, ed. W. Yust, Chicago–London–Toronto, 1956.

HUCA *Hebrew Union College Annual.*

IDB *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible: An Illustrated Encyclopedia*, ed. G. A. Buttrick *et al.*, New York–Nashville, 1962.

IEJ *Israel Exploration Journal.*

JAOS *Journal of the American Oriental Society.*

JBL *Journal of Biblical Literature.*

Jer. Post *The Jerusalem Post.*

Jew. Art *Jewish Art: An Illustrated History*, ed. C. Roth, Tel Aviv, 1961.

Jew. Enc. *The Jewish Encyclopedia: A Descriptive Record of the History, Religion, Literature, and Customs of the Jewish People from the Earliest Times to the Present Day*, ed. I. Singer, New York, 1901 ff.

JJS *Journal of Jewish Studies.*

JNES *Journal of Near Eastern Studies.*

JPOS *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society.*

JQR *Jewish Quarterly Review.*

Jüd. Lex. *Jüdisches Lexikon: Ein enzyklopädisches Handbuch des jüdischen Wissens*, ed. G. Herlitz & B. Kirschner, Berlin, 1927 ff.

Kl. P. *Der Kleine Pauly: Lexikon der Antike*, ed. K. Ziegler & W. Sontheimer, Stuttgart, 1961 ff.

Legends L. Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews*, Philadelphia, 1946 f. (Reissue).

MGWJ *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums.*

PEF, QSt *Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement*, continued by:

PEQ Palestine Exploration Quarterly.
PW Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft, ed. G. Wissowa, Stuttgart, 1894 ff.
QDAP Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine.
RA Revue archéologique.
RAC Rivista di archeologia cristiana, Pontificia Commissione di Archeologia Sacra, Rome.
RB Revue biblique.
REJ Revue des études juives.
RGG Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart, ed. K. Galling *et al.*, 3rd ed., Tübingen, 1957 ff.
RHR Revue de l'histoire des religions.
Scr. Hier. Scripta Hierosolymitana, The Hebrew University, Jerusalem.
Septuag. H. B. Swete, *The Old Testament in Greek, according to the Septuagint*, Cambridge, 1909–12; A. Rahlfs, *Septuaginta*, Stuttgart, 1935.
Stand. Jew. Enc. The Standard Jewish Encyclopedia, ed. C. Roth, Jerusalem–Tel Aviv, 1958/9.
Symbols E. R. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period*, New York, 1953 ff. (Bollingen Series, XXXVII).
Univ. Jew. Enc. The Universal Jewish Encyclopedia, ed. I. Landman *et al.*, New York, 1939 ff.
UT C. H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook*, Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, Rome, 1965 (Analecta Orientalia, 38).
VT, Spl. Vetus Testamentum, Supplements.
WM Wörterbuch der Mythologie, ed. H. W. Haussig, Stuttgart, 1961 ff.
Wörterbuch W. Gesenius, *Hebräisches und Aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament*, ed. F. Buhl, 17th ed., Berlin–Göttingen – Heidelberg, 1949.
ZAW Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft.
ZDMG Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.
ZDPV Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palestina-Vereins.
ZNW Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft.

B – Rabbinic Sources

Bar. Baraita.
Midr. Midrash.
Mishn. Mishnah.
Pes. Pesiqta.
Sifr. Sifre.
Tb. Talmud babli (Babylonian Talmud).
Tos. Tosefta.
Ty. Talmud yerushalmi (Jerusalem Talmud).

C – Philo's Works

Cher. De cherubim (On the Cherubim).
Congr. De congressu eruditionis gratia (On Mating with Preliminary Studies).
Mos. De vita Mosis (Moses).
Quaest. Ex. Quaestiones et solutiones in Exodum (Questions and Answers on Exodus).
Quaest. Gen. Quaestiones et solutiones in Genesim (Questions and Answers on Genesis).
Quis Her. Quis rerum divinarum Heres (Who is the Heir of Divine Things).
Spec. leg. De specialibus legibus (On the Special Laws).

D – Josephus' Works

Ant. Antiquitates Judaicae (Antiquities of the Jews).
Bell. Bellum Judaicum (The Jewish War).
C. Ap. Contra Apionem (Against Apion).
Vit. Vita (Life).

Other ancient writers and their works are abbreviated according to current usage. The same applies to the books of the Bible, its various versions, and the Apocrypha.

NOTES TO INTRODUCTION

1. *Cf.* L. Blau in *Jew. Enc.*, VIII, pp. 251 f.
2. *Cf.* G. Scholem, 'The Curious History of the Six-pointed Star', *Commentary*, VIII (1949), p. 244.
3. *CII*, I, no. 621; *Symbols*, II, p. 54.
4. Scholem, *loc. cit.*
5. Actually six-branched, with the seventh lamp atop the central shaft.
6. Literally lamp on stand or 'lampstand'. *Cf.* II Kings IV, 10 (MT), and fig. 215. Aram. *nebrashta* (Dan. V, 5).
7. *Cf.* M. Munkacsi, 'Menorah: The True Symbol of Judaism', *Semitic Studies in Memory of I. Löw*, Budapest, 1947, pp. 142 ff. (Heb.).
8. Scholem, *op. cit.*, p. 248. *Cf.* also M. Grunwald in *Jüd. Lex.*, III, col. 1281; A. Grotte, *ibid.*, IV/1, col. 117; I. O. Lehman, *The Symbolism of the Menorah according to the Mystic R. Eleazar of Worms* [13th century], Chicago, 1965.
9. Quoted by Scholem, *loc. cit.*
10. *Cf.* Scholem, *op. cit.*, p. 246 (Maimonides, *Yad: Tefillin* V, 4). See also V. Aptowitzer, 'Les Noms de Dieu et des anges dans la mezouza', *REJ*, LX (1910), pp. 39 ff. and LXV (1913), pp. 54 ff.; *Stand. Jew. Enc.*, col. 1313.
11. Scholem, *op. cit.*, p. 247.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 249.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 250.
14. *Ibid.*, pp. 250 f. For subsequent interpretations, *cf.* F. Rosenzweig's well-known treatise, *Der Stern der Erlösung*, 2nd ed., Frankfurt a.M., 1930, especially II, pp. 216 ff.
15. *Cf.* Grotte, *loc. cit.* On the origin of the terms 'Sephardim' and 'Ashkenazim', see S. W. Baron, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews*, 2nd ed., New York, 1952 ff., IV, pp. 3 f. and 235, n. 1.
16. A good single example is S. Zweig's imaginative inter-war novel, *Der begrabene Leuchter*, 1936 (various impr.).
17. *Cf.* also L. I. Rabinowitz, 'The flowering Menorah', *Jer. Post*, Feb. 5, 1965.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 1

1. II Chron. XIII, 11.
2. Lev. XXIV, 4. *Cf. Tb., Menahoth* 29a.
3. Sir. XXVI, 17 (quoted on p. 4).
4. Ex. XXV, 31–40 (quoted on p. 8).
5. *Ibid.* XXXVII, 17–24 (XXXI, 2 ff.). *Cf. Legends*, II, p. 362 (V, p. 432, n. 202); III, pp. 160 f., 219 (VI, p. 65, n. 338, pp. 79 f., n. 421).
6. *Cf.* pp. 12 f.
7. *Cf. Ant.* VIII, chs. 3 ff. and XV, ch. 11 (*Bell.* V, 5, 4, quoted on pp. 45 f.). For archaeological aspects, see A. Kümmel, *Materialien zur Topographie des alten Jerusalem: Begleittext zu der 'Karte der Materialien zur Topographie des alten Jerusalem'* (1904), Halle a. S., 1906, chs. VII–X; J. Simons, *Jerusalem in the Old Testament: Researches and Theories*, Leiden, 1952, ch. VI; (P.) L.-H. Vincent, *Jérusalem de l'ancien Testament*, Paris, 1954–6, II: *Archéologie du temple.*
8. Num. IV, 5 and 9. *Cf.* R. Gradwohl, *Die Farben im Alten Testament: Eine terminologische Studie*, Diss. (Zurich), Berlin, 1963, pp. 66 ff. (*BZAW*, 83). On the symbolism of 'blue' in later periods, see Josephus' description of the sanctuary, p. 45.
9. I Kings VII, 49; II Chron. IV, 7 and 20 f. (I Chron. XXVIII, 15).
10. I Kings VIII, 6; II Chron. V, 7.
11. I Kings VIII, 4; II Chron. V, 5.
12. *Tos., Sotah* XIII, 1.
13. *Bar. di-Meleketh ha-Mishkan* X, ed. M. Friedmann, p. 65; *Ty., Sheqalim* VI, 3; *Tb., Menahoth* 29a, 98b and 99a. *Cf.* D. Sperber, 'The History of the Menorah', *JJS*, XVI/3–4 (1965), pp. 135 f. and Appendix A, pp. 155 ff.
14. *Ant.* VIII, 3, 7.
15. With *Mishn., Hagigah* III, 8 contrast *Ant.* XII, 5, 4 and *Bell.* VI, 8, 3 (quoted on p. 5).
16. *Mishn., Yoma* III, 10 (gift of Helena of

Adiabene). For differing reading, see *Symbols*, VIII, p. 105, n. 287.

17. II Chron. XXXVI, 7, 10 and 18 (Dan. I, 2); Ezra I, 7. For dating, see D. J. Wiseman, *Chronicles of Chaldaean Kings (626–556 B.C.) in the British Museum*, London, 1956, *s.vv.* 'Jerusalem', 'Judah'; and A. Malamat, 'The Last Kings of Judah and the Fall of Jerusalem: An Historical-Chronological Study', *IEJ*, XVIII (1968), pp. 137 ff.
18. II Kings XXIV f.; II Chron. XXXVI, 6 ff. (Dan. I, 1 ff.).
19. Jer. LII, 19. But see *ibid.* XXVII, 19 ff., and W. Rudolph, *Jeremia*, 3rd ed., Tübingen, 1968, pp. XX f., 173 ff., 319 ff., especially 321 (Handbuch zum Alten Testament, Ser. I, 12).
20. Ezra I, 7 ff.
21. *Cf. Legends*, III, p. 161 (VI, p. 66, n. 341); IV, pp. 320 f. (VI, pp. 410 f., ns. 59–64).
22. *Cf.* pp. 14, 38 f.
23. Zech. IV (quoted on p. 43).
24. Dan. V, 5.
25. Sir. XXVI, 17. For relevant Hebrew fragment, see J. Schirmann, *Tarbiz*, XXIX (1960), p. 133, lines 31–3 (Heb.).
26. *Ant.* XII, 5, 4.
27. I Mac. I, 21.
28. *Ibid.* IV, 49.
29. *Ibid.*, 56 and 59; II Mac. X, 6 ff. (I, 18 ff.); *Ant.* XII, 7, 7.
30. *Megillath Taanith* IX, ed. A. Neubauer, p. 16 (*Pes. Rabbathi* II, ed. Friedmann, p. 5; *Tb.*, *Menahoth* 28b, *Abodah Zarah* 43a, *Rosh Hashanah* 24b). See Sperber, *op. cit.*, pp. 137 ff. and ns. 11 f.
31. *Ant.* XIV, 4, 4; *Bell.* I, 7, 6; Tac., *Hist.* V, 9.
32. *Ant.* XIV, 7, 1; *Bell.* I, 8, 8.
33. *Midr. Rabbah, Lev.* XXII, 3 and *Eccl.* V; *Tb.*, *Gittin* 65b. *Cf.* Sperber, *op. cit.*, p. 154.
34. *Der Jüdische Krieg der Romantrilogie 'Josephus'*, Amsterdam, 1933, pp. 405 f.
35. With *Bell.* VI, 8, 3 contrast *ibid.* Praef. 11.
36. I.e. the pairs of branches, each of which with the shaft approximated a trident.
37. Presumably one of the Temple's master scrolls used for checking copies. Another such master scroll seems to have come into Josephus' possession after permission from Titus (*Vit.* 75).
38. *Bell.* VII, 5, 5.
39. S. B. Platner & T. Ashby, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, London, 1929, p. 386.
40. Plin., *Nat. Hist.* XXXVI, 102.
41. *Ibid.* XII, 94; XXXIV, 84; XXXV, 102 and 109; XXXVI, 27 f.; Paus. VI, 9, 3.
42. *Bell.* VII, 5, 7. Similar 'purple hangings' from the sanctuary, looted by Antiochus IV and donated to the temple of Zeus at Olympia, were still to be seen there in the second century A.D. (Paus. V, 12, 4).
43. *Bell.* VI, 4, 7. See also Sulp. Sev., *Chron.* II, 30; Oros. VII, 9, 5 f.
44. According to the so-called Copper Scroll (found near the Dead Sea in 1952, transl. and ed. by J. M. Allegro, *The Treasure of the Copper Scroll*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1960), the defenders of the sanctuary appear to have concealed, mainly within or near the Temple area (*ibid.*, chs. 6 f.), no fewer than 619 different silver and gold vessels (*ibid.*, p. 59). Whether the master menorah, too, had been hidden – perhaps even replaced by a replica – is of course unknown, but cannot be entirely ruled out: according to the last item on the scroll, 'a copy of this document' – evidently a master copy – 'with an explanation and . . . measurements, and an inventory of each thing, and oth[er things]', presumably other unspecified vessels, had been deposited in a place named within the Temple area (*ibid.*, p. 55, item 61 and pp. 169 f., ns. 313–23).
45. *Cf.* H. Kähler in *PW*, Halbb. XIII (1939), col. 387.
46. *Cf.* K. Lehman, 'L'Arco di Tito', *BCA*, LXII (1934), pp. 89 ff.
47. *Cf.* F. Noack, 'Triumph und Triumphbogen', *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg 1925–26*, Berlin, 1928, p. 195.
48. This earlier Titus Arch, destroyed as late as the fourteenth or fifteenth century, bore the following, not wholly truthful inscription: *Senatus populusque Romanus imp. Tito Caesari divi Vespasiani f. Vespasian(o) Augusto . . . quod praeceptis patri(is) consiliisque et auspiciis gentem Judaeorum domuit et urbem Hierusolymam omnibus ante se ducibus regibus gentibus aut frustra petitam aut omnino intemptatam delevit* (*CIL*, VI, no. 944). *Cf.* Th. Mommsen in *Berichte der Kgl. Sächs. Gesellsch. der Wissensch. zu Leipzig*, Phil.-hist. Cl. (1850), p. 303.
49. H. Vogelstein, *History of Jews in Rome*, transl. by M. Hadas, Philadelphia, 1940, pp. 65 f.

50. *Mirabilia urbis Romae*, ch. 3.
51. Cass. Dio LXXIII, 24, 1.
52. Script. Hist. Aug., *Trig. Tyr.* 31, 10; Herodian I, 14, 2; Amm. Marcell. XVI, 10, 14.
53. Marcell. Comes, *Chron. Min.*, ed. Mommsen, II, 69; Proc., *Bell. Got.* IV, 21, 11 ff.
54. Proc., *Bell. Vand.* II, 9, 4 f. *Cf.* also Theoph., *Chron.*, ed. C. de Boor, 93; Cedr., *Hist. Comp.*, ed. I. Bekker, I, 346. For later legendary traditions in Rome itself, see P. Bloch, 'Siebenarmige Leuchter in christlichen Kirchen', *Wallraf-Richartz Jahrbuch*, XXIII (1961), pp. 87 f.
55. Proc., *Bell. Vand.* II, 9, 6–9.
56. *Cf.* J. H. Levy, 'A Note on the Fate of the Sacred Vessels of the Second Temple', *Kedem*, II (1945), pp. 123 ff. (Heb.).
57. A. Jellinek, *Beth ha-Midrash* II, 60; Const. Porphyr., *De Ceremoniis* I, 1, 5 ff. (*CSHB*, ed. B. C. Niebuhr, p. 11); *Scriptores originum constantinopolitanarum* (Georg. Codinus), ed. Th. Preger, Leipzig, 1907, II, p. 59. *Cf.* Bloch, *op. cit.*, pp. 90 ff. and 186 (cat. no. 28).
58. Levy, *loc. cit.*
59. Proc., *Bell. Got.* I, 12, 41 ff. See also R. Eisler, *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt: Religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung zur Urgeschichte des antiken Weltbildes*, Munich, 1910, I, Appendix I, pp. 46 f.
60. Proc., *Bell. Got.* III, 1, 1–4.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 2

1. Ex. XXV, 31–40. Similarly in Ex. XXXVII, 17–24, but see its deviating version in *Septuag.*, *ibid.* XXXVIII, 13–17. *Cf.* also notes to both chapters in *Bibl. Heb.* and Rashi.
2. *Bar. di-Meleketh ha-Mishkan* X, p. 64; *Tb.*, *Menahoth* 28b (quoted on p. 11); Abarbanel and Rashi on Ex. XXV, 31–40. For conversion of biblical measures and weights see *Bible de Jérusalem, La Sainte Bible traduite en français sous la direction de l'École Biblique de Jérusalem*, Paris, 1956, Table des mesures et des monnaies, pp. 1660 f.
3. Similarly on earliest-known representation (fig. 19), in Philo (*Quaest. Ex.* II, 75), Josephus (*Ant.* III, 6, 7), and *Tb.*, *Menahoth* 28b (see p. 11). Possibly also in *Septuag.*, Ex. XXV, 37 (Num. VIII, 2 f.); Vulg., Num. VIII, 2.
4. *Cf. Bar. di-Meleketh ha-Mishkan* X, p. 64; *Tb.*, *Menahoth* 28b (quoted on p. 11); and *Tb.*, *ibid.* 88b.
5. Above, p. 5.
6. G. Ricciotti, *La Guerra Giudaica*, 2nd ed., Turin, 1949, IV–VII, p. 324.
7. *Bell.* Praef. 1.
8. *Vit.* 65.
9. W. Eltester, 'Der Siebenarmige Leuchter und der Titusbogen', *BZNW*, 26 (1964), p. 69 (Festschrift für J. Jeremias, 2nd ed.).
10. O. Michel & O. Bauernfeind, *Fl. Josephus: De bello Judaico*, Zweisprach. Ausg., Darmstadt, 1959, I, p. XXVIII. Marcus Antonius Julianus was according to Josephus (*Bell.* VI, 4, 3) one of the seven principal members of the historic War Council of Titus before the final assault on the sanctuary.
11. Minuc. Fel., *Oct.* 33, 4. *Cf.* E. Norden, 'Josephus und Tacitus über Jesus Christus und eine messianische Prophetie', *N. Jahrbücher f. das klass. Altertum*, 16 (1913), pp. 664 f.; Eltester, *op. cit.*, p. 69.
12. *Cf. Ant.* III, 6, 7.
13. *Ibid.*
14. Y. Ardon, 'Mystery of holy candlestick solved, claims Haifa artist', *Jer. Post*, Apr. 16, 1965. See also Sperber, *op. cit.*, p. 135, n. 1.
15. H. Strauss, 'The History and Form of the Seven-branched Candlestick of the Hasmonean Kings', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXII (1959), pp. 6 f.; K. Galling in *RGG*, IV, col. 332.
16. *Tb.*, *Menahoth* 28b (*Abodah Zarah* 43a; *Rosh Hashanah* 24b).
17. *Ant.* III, 6, 7.
18. *Cf.* S. A. Cook in *Enc. Bibl.*, I, col. 645, n. 3.
19. *Septuag.*, Ex. XXXVIII, 16.
20. *Tb.*, *Menahoth* 28b (Engl. transl. slightly modified). Similarly in *Bar. di-Meleketh ha-Mishkan* X, pp. 64 f., though here,

curiously enough, the distance between the branches is given as twice their thickness, thus leaving for the upper shaft only three handbreadths instead of five.

21. Against Strauss, *op. cit.*, but in accordance with Eltester, *op. cit.*, pp. 64, 76 Nachw.
22. *Cf.* pp. 18 f. (23 ff.), 21 f.
23. According to prel. notice, 'the earliest-known depiction of a seven-branched candelabrum, made at the time when a similar one was standing in the Second Temple' (*Jer. Post*, Dec. 5, 1969). 120 ornaments? For similar bases, see *IDB*, III, p. 64, fig. 9 (Tripod or offering stand from Megiddo).
24. *Cf.* p. 17.
25. *Cf. Jer. Post.*, n. 14 above.
26. *Cf.* E. Cohn-Wiener, *Die jüdische Kunst: Ihre Geschichte von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*, Berlin, 1929, p. 75.
27. *Cf.* M. Ohnefalsch-Richter. *Kypros: The Bible and Homer*, London, 1893, I, pp. 377 f., expl. notes to pl. XLIII, nos. 8–10. See also W. F. Albright, 'Two Cressets from Marisa and the Pillars of Jachin and Boaz', *BASOR*, 85 (1942), pp. 18 ff., especially figs. 7 and 10, no. 8 (Palestinian parallels).
28. *Bar. di-Meleketh ha-Mishkan* X, p. 65; *Tb., Menahoth* 28b; Maimonides, *Yad: Beth ha-Behirah* III, 1 ff.
29. Thus, for instance, A. Reland (Reeland), *De spoliis templi Hierosolymitani in arcu Titiano Romae conspicuis*, Utrecht, 1716, pp. 56 ff.; W. Knight, *The Arch of Titus and the Spoils of the Temple*, London, 1867, pp. 117 f.; S. Reinach, 'L'Arc de Titus', *REJ*, XX (1890), p. 83; Cook in *Enc. Bibl.*, I, col. 646. Lately also I. H. Herzog, 'The Menorah on the Arch of Titus', *Essays in Memory of S. M. Mayer*, Jerusalem, 1956 (Heb.), softened in *id.*, 'On the Form of the Menorah in the Temple and for the Synagogue', *Sinai*, XXXVI/I (1956) (Heb.).
30. *Cf.* M. Kon, 'The Menorah of the Arch of Titus', *PEQ*, 1950/1, pp. 25 ff.; J. Brand in *Haaretz*, June 17, 1955; *Symbols*, IV, p. 72; Eltester, *op. cit.*, pp. 74 ff.; Sperber, *op. cit.*, p. 151.
31. *Ant.* III, 6, 6; VIII, 3, 6.
32. *Tos., Abodah Zarah* V, 6. Quoted by Kon, *op. cit.*, pp. 27 f. See also *Ty., Abodah Zarah* III, 3; *Tb., ibid.* 43a.
33. For the first time by Kon, *op. cit.*, pp. 29 f.
34. Façade columns 4 and 7, the 4th column base (fig. 14) now at the Louvre. *Cf.* Th. Wiegand *et al.*, *Didyma*, Part I, *Die Baubeschreibung*, Berlin, 1941, Text, pp. 84 ff. (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin).
35. *Cf. ibid.*, pp. 85 f. (the 7th column base, fields γ, ϑ, λ); the relief of the 4th base is shown in fig. 14.
36. Ex. XXVI, 35 (XL, 22 and 24).
37. *Tb., Menahoth* 98b; *Tos., Yoma* III, 4; *Sifr., Lev.* XXIV, 3.
38. *Tb., Yoma* 33b (*Tos., ibid.* III, 4).
39. *Cf.* p. 44.
40. Ex. XXV, 37 (Num. VIII, 2 f.).
41. Lev. XXIV, 4 (Ex. XXVII, 21; Lev. XXIV, 2 f.; I Kings XI, 36 – the reference is to 'lamp').
42. Rev. IV, 5.
43. Is. XIV, 13. *Cf.* also Job XXXVII, 22; Ps. XLVIII, 1 f.
44. *Ant.* III, 6, 7. For an attempt at explanation, see P. Romanoff, *Jewish Symbols on Ancient Jewish Coins*, Philadelphia, 1944, pp. 35 ff. (reprinted from *JQR*, XXXIII (1942/3) and XXXIV (1943/4)).
45. *Tb., Menahoth* 98a (*Mishn., ibid.* XI, 6; *Tb., Sheqalim* 24b).
46. Ex. XXX, 7.
47. *Ibid.*, 8; II Chron. XIII, 11; *Spec. leg.* I, 296.
48. Paus. I, 26, 7.
49. *C. Ap.* I, 22. On Pseudo-Hecataeus see F. Jacoby in *PW*, VII, cols. 2766 ff.; B. Schaller, 'Hekataios von Abdera über die Juden: Zur Frage der Echtheit und der Datierung', *ZNW*, 54 (1963), pp. 15 ff.
50. With *Tb., Menahoth* 98b and *Megillah* 21b (*Bar. di-Meleketh ha-Mishkan* X, p. 65; *Sifr., Num.* VIII, 1 ff.; *Leqah tob, ibid.*) contrast *Mishn., Tamid* VI, 1. See also J. D. Eisenstein in *Jew. Enc.*, VIII, p. 494. According to Rashi (*Shabbath* 22b), thus designated on account of its position next to the three eastern lamps.
52. *Cf.* p. 49.
53. I Kings XI, 36 and XV, 4; II Kings VIII, 19; II Chron. XXI, 7; Ps. XVIII, 29 and CXXXII, 17.
54. Ex. XXVII, 20 f.; Lev. XXIV, 2 f. With M. Haran, 'The Complex of Ritual Acts inside the Tabernacle', *Scr. Hier.*, VIII (1961), pp. 277 f., n. 9 contrast K. Elliger, *Leviticus*, Tübingen, 1966, p. 325 (Handbuch zum Alten Testament, Ser. I, 4).

55. Thus, for instance, Grotte in *Jüd. Lex.*, IV/I, col. 454; *Symbols*, IV, p. 136, n. 271. What the 'continually' burning lamp (Ex. XXVII, 20; Lev. XXIV, 2) actually implied, emerges clearly from the next verse, which states that the lamp was to be tended (i.e. burn) 'from evening to morning' (*cf.* Ex. XXVII, 21, Lev. XXIV, 3 and I Sam. III, 3).
56. I Sam. III, 3 (at Shiloh).
57. With Ex. XXV, 31a, 37 compare Lev. XXIV, 4 and see K. Koch, *Die Priesterschrift von Exodus 25 bis Leviticus 16: Eine überlieferungsgeschichtliche und literarkritische Untersuchung*, Göttingen, 1959, pp. 13, (16 f.) 97 (Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments, N.F. 53); H. Reventlow, *Das Heiligkeitsgesetz formgeschichtlich untersucht*, Neukirchen, 1961, pp. 116 ff., 164 f. (Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament, 6); and Haran, 'Shiloh and Jerusalem: The Origin of the Priestly Tradition in the Pentateuch', *JBL*, LXXXI (1962), pp. 14 ff.
58. Ex. XXX, 7 f.; Lev. XXIV, 4 (Ex. XXVII, 21; Lev. XXIV, 3 – the reference is to 'lamp'). Concerning 'Aaron and his sons' (Ex. XXVII, 21), see Haran, 'Ritual Acts', pp. 277 f., 299.
59. With *Ant.* III, 8, 3 contrast *Mishn.*, *Tamid* VI, I (III, 9) and *Tb.*, *Yoma* 33a–b. See also Eisenstein, *loc. cit.*
60. *Mishn.*, *Tamid* VI, I (III, 9); *Tb.*, *Yoma* 33a–b.
61. *Mishn.*, *Tamid* VI, I; *Tb.*, *Menahoth* 86b; *Sifr.*, *Lev.* XXIV, 2 (*Num.* VIII, 2); *Leqah tob*, *Lev.* XXIV, 2.
62. *Cf.* pp. 47 ff.
63. *Bar. di-Meleketh ha-Mishkan* X, p. 65; *Tb.*, *Menahoth* 98b (*Megillah* 21b); *Sifr.*, *Leqah tob* and Rashi on Num. VIII, I ff.
64. Ex. XXVII, 20; Lev. XXIV, 2.
65. *Tb.*, *Menahoth* 89a.
66. *Mishn.*, *Tamid* III, 9; *Tb.*, *Menahoth* 29a; *Sifr.*, *Num.* VIII, 3.
67. *Bar. di-Meleketh ha-Mishkan* X, p. 65; *Tb.*, *Menahoth* 88b.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 3

1. Quoted by Josephus, *Ant.* XV, I, 2. Engl. transl. as in J. Klausner, *Jesus of Nazareth: His Life, Times and Teachings*, New York, 1953, p. 145 (Reissue). See also *Symbols*, I, p. 273; E. Namenyi, *The Essence of Jewish Art*, transl. by E. Roditi, New York–London, 1960, pp. 50 f.; Sperber, *op. cit.*, pp. 140 ff.
2. *Ant.* XV, 4, 5 and 6, I; *Bell.* I, 7, 7 and 8, 6.
3. *Cf.* F. W. Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, London, 1903, p. 102; G. F. Hill, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Palestine: Galilee, Samaria and Judaea*, London, 1914, p. 219, no. 56 (Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum, XXVII); M. Narkiss, *Coins of the Land of Israel*, Jerusalem, 1936, I, pl. III, no. 5 (Heb.) (Library of Palestinology of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society, I/II); A. Reifenberg, *Ancient Jewish Coins*, 4th ed., Jerusalem, 1965, pp. 17 f. (p. 42, nos. 23 f.); A. Kindler, *Thesaurus of Judaean Coins*, Jerusalem, 1958, p. 3, no. 4 (Heb.), Engl. summary, p. 7, no. 4.
4. *Cf.* M. Dothan & L. Y. Rahmani in *IEJ*, VI (1956), pp. 127 f. (prel. note); Rahmani, 'The Tomb of Jason', *ibid.*, XVII (1967), pp. 73 f. (first published in *'Atiqot*, IV (1964), pp. 10 f., Heb.).
5. *Cf.* J. G. Stickel, 'Noch einmal die omajjadische Askalon-Münze und ein Anhang', *ZDMG*, XL (1886), pp. 84 ff. See also H. Guthe in *ZDPV*, VIII (1885), p. 335; and K. M. Konstantopoulos in *Journal international d'Archéologie numismatique*, X (1907), p. 101.
6. *Cf.* S. Applebaum, 'A Lamp and Other Remains of the Jewish Community of Cyrene', *IEJ*, VII (1957), pp. 154 ff.; *id.* in *Jew. Art*, pp. 240 f.
7. *Cf. Symbols*, I, pp. 126, 129 (III, figs. 198, 220); IV, p. 77. Fig. 198 challenged by M. Avi-Yonah, *IEJ*, VI (1956), p. 196, n. 6.
8. *Symbols.*, II, p. 111.
9. *Cf.*, for instance, H. W. Beyer & H. Lietzmann, *Jüdische Denkmäler*, I: *Die jüdische Katakombe der Villa Torlonia in Rom*, Berlin–Leipzig, 1930, p. 24

(Studien zur spätantiken Kunstgeschichte, IV); Romanoff, *op. cit.*, pp. 38 ff.; Namenyi, *op. cit.*, p. 51; Avi-Yonah, 'The Façade of Herod's Temple, an attempted Reconstruction', *Religion in Antiquity*, ed. J. Neusner, Leiden, 1968, pp. 327–9 (Essays in Memory of E. R. Goodenough).

10. Matt. II, 2, 7, 9 f.
11. Num. XXIV, 17. In *Ty.*, *Taanith* IV, 8 it is stated: 'R. Simeon ben Jochai said: R. Akiba my teacher expounded the passage "A star shall come forth out of Jacob", as follows: "There goes Kosiba out of Jacob". When R. Akiba saw Ben Kosiba he said, "This is the king Messiah".' The name Kosiba is also confirmed by an order found near the Dead Sea in 1952, written by Bar Kokba himself and signed 'Simeon Ben Kosiba, Prince of Israel' (*cf.* Y. Yadin, *The Message of the Scrolls*, New York (Grosset), 1962, pp. 71 f.).
12. N. Glueck, *Rivers in the desert: A history of the Negev*, New York (Evergreen), 1960, pp. 281 f. (Ex. III, 5; Acts VII, 33).
13. A. Negev, 'The Chronology of the Seven-Branched Menorah', *EI*, VIII (1967), pp. 193–210 (Heb.), Engl. summary, p. 74* (E. L. Sukenik Memorial Volume).
14. *Cf.* Munkacsi, *op. cit.*, pp. 135 ff., Heb.
15. *Cf.* R. Wischnitzer-Bernstein, *Gestalten und Symbole der jüdischen Kunst*, Berlin, 1935, p. 75.
16. Sperber, *op. cit.*, p. 153.
17. J. Zwarts, *De zevenarmige Kandelaar in de Romeinse Diaspora*, Diss., Utrecht, 1935, p. 64.
18. Tablets indicating the direction of prayer towards Jerusalem, in Europe to the east ('east' = Heb. mizrach).
19. Goodenough in *Symbols*, IV, p. 96.
20. *Cf.* J. A. Martigny in *Dictionnaire des antiquités chrétiennes*, Paris, 1877, pp. 115 f.; H. Leclercq in *DACL*, 3/1 (1914), cols. 217 ff.; Zwarts, *op. cit.*, pp. 83 ff.; M. Simon, 'Le Chandelier à sept branches, symbole chrétien?', *RA*, Ser. VI, vols. XXXI/XXXII (1949), pp. 971 ff.; Bloch, *op. cit.*
21. *CIL*, VIII, no. 705.
22. *Cf.* R. A. S. Macalister, *The Excavation of Gezer, 1902–1905 and 1907–1909*, London, 1912, I, p. 347, fig. 177 (III, pl. XCIX, 11).
23. *Cf.* A. L. Delattre, 'Lampes chrétiennes de Carthage', *Revue de l'Art Chrétien*, XXXV (1892), p. 136; *id.*, *Gamart ou la nécropole juive de Carthage*, Lyons, 1895, p. 40; Simon, *Verus Israel: Étude sur les relations entre Chrétiens et Juifs dans l'empire romain*, Paris, 1948, p. 414 (Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, CLXVI); *Symbols*, II, p. 102.
24. *Cf.* O. R. Sellers, 'The Candlestick Decoration on Byzantine Lamps', *BASOR*, 122 (1951), pp. 42 ff.; *ibid.*, *Suppl. Studies*, 15/16 (1953), pp. 48 ff.
25. *Cf.* J. Strzygowski, *Der Bilderkreis des griechischen Physiologus des Kosmas Indikopleustes und Oktateuch nach Handschriften der Bibliothek zu Smyrna*, Leipzig, 1899, p. 57 (Sm. MS., p. 164) (Byzantinisches Archiv, 2), and p. 50 above. For other adaptations, see J. Leveen, *The Hebrew Bible in Art*, London, 1944, p. 16, n. 2 (Schweich Lectures of the British Academy, 1939); Bloch, *op. cit.*, pp. 84 f.
26. *Cf.* Rev. I, 10 ff. (quoted on pp. 47 f.).
27. *Cf.* Bloch, *op. cit.*, pp. 72–87, 99 f., 111. Also F. Schottmüller, *Fra Angelico da Fiesole*, Stuttgart–Leipzig, 1911, p. 183: 'Die Gebote der Liebe' (Klassiker der Kunst, XVIII). For poetic expression, see Dante, *Purgatorio* XXIX, lines 44 ff. (echoed in T. S. Eliot, *The Waste Land*, lines 82 f.).
28. *Cf.* Bloch, *op. cit.*, pp. 101 ff. and 181 ff. ('Katalog der siebenarmigen Leuchter').
29. *Ibid.*, pp. 89, 178 and 182 (cat. no. 3).
30. K. B. Ritter in *RGG*, IV, col. 333.
31. Eltester, *op. cit.*, p. 64.
32. *Tb.*, *Abodah Zarah* 43a (*Menahoth* 28b; *Rosh Hashanah* 24 a–b).
33. This opinion, originally expressed by H. Kohl & C. Watzinger, *Antike Synagogen in Galiläa*, Leipzig, 1916, p. 191 (Wissenschaftl. Veröff. der Deutsch. Orient-Gesellsch., XXIX), has been followed by many scholars. See, for instance, Galling, 'Die Beleuchtungsgeräte im israelitisch-jüdischen Kulturgebiet', *ZDPV*, XLVI (1923), pp. 40 f.; Sukenik, *Ancient Synagogues in Palestine and Greece*, London, 1934, pp. 55 f. (Schweich Lectures of the British Academy, 1930); Beyer & Lietzmann, *op. cit.*, p. 18. Also Kon, *op. cit.*, pp. 26 f.; *Symbols*, IV, p. 75, XII, p. 80 (XIII, p. 219); Eltester, *op. cit.*, p. 64; and Negev, *op. cit.*, pp. 207 and n. 183, 209, Heb., 74*, Engl.

34. Goodenough, 'The Menorah among the Jews of the Roman World', *HUCA*, XXIII (1950/1), p. 484. *Cf. Symbols*, I, p. 235.
35. *Symbols*, I, p. 216.
36. D. G. Mitten in *BASOR*, 174 (1964), p. 36.
37. *Ibid.*, p. 38.
38. *CII*, II, no. 781; *Symbols*, II, pp. 81 f.
39. Mitten, *loc. cit.*
40. So chiefly D. Kaufmann, 'Études d'archéologie Juive', *REJ*, XIII (1886), pp. 52 f.; Grotte in *MGWJ*, LXV (1921), p. 28; K. H. Rengstorf, 'Zu den Fresken der Villa Torlonia in Rom', *ZNW*, XXXI (1932), pp. 35–7, 39–41, 52–8; and more recently S. S. Kayser, *Jewish Ceremonial Art*, Philadelphia, 1955, pp. 14 f.
41. *Cf.* figs. 9, 10 and 230.
42. Mainly in U.S.A.
43. Grotte in *Jüd. Lex.*, IV/1, col. 116.
44. For the history of the Hanukkah lamp see Wischnitzer-Bernstein, 'L'Origine de la lampe de Hanouka', *REJ*, LXXXIX (1930), pp. 135 ff.; H. Rosenau, 'Textual gleanings on Jewish Art', *Cahiers archéologiques*, XIII (1962), pp. 40 ff.; B. Narkiss, *The Lamps of Hanukkah*, Sabra Books, forthcoming. On Hanukkah itself: O. S. Rankin, *The Origins of the Festival of Hanukkah: The Jewish New-Age Festival*, Edinburgh, 1930 (abridged version in *The Labyrinth*, ed. S. H. Hooke, London, 1935, pp. 159 ff.); J. Morgenstern, 'The Hanukkah Festival of the Calendar of Ancient Israel', *HUCA*, XX (1947), pp. 1 ff., XXI (1948), pp. 365 ff.; and R. J. Z. Werblowsky, 'Hanouca et Noël ou Judaïsme et Christianisme: Note phénoménologique sur les rapports du mythe et de l'histoire', *RHR*, CXLV (1954), pp. 30 ff.
45. *Tb.*, *Megillah* 31a (Num. VII; Zech. IV; I Kings VII, 40–50).
46. *Cf.* p. 49.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 4

1. For additional examples see *CII*, Index, *s.v.* 'Chandelier'; *Symbols*, Index, *s.v.* 'Menorah'; Negev, *op. cit.*, pp. 194–206, Heb.; current issues of *IEJ*, *Bull. Rab.* and *'Atiqot* (for recent finds in Israel).
2. *Cf.* Wischnitzer-Bernstein in *Jew. Art*, p. 192.
3. Avi-Yonah in *ibid.*, p. 169.
4. *Ty.*, *Abodah Zarah* III, 3; J. N. Epstein, *Tarbiz*, III (1931/2), p. 20, line 15 (Heb.).
5. *Symbols*, II, pp. 51 f.
6. *Ibid.*, I, p. 237. *Cf.* also *CII*, II, no. 798 (epitaph from Bithynia); and *Midr. Aggada*, *Num.* VIII, 2.
7. Thus, for instance, in the synagogue remains of Beth Shearim (*QDAP*, IX (1941), p. 213).
8. *Cf. The Excavations at Dura-Europos, Conducted by Yale University and the French Academy of Inscriptions and Letters*, ed. M. I. Rostovtzeff *et al. Preliminary Reports*, New Haven, 1928 ff.; *Final Report*, VIII/1: C. H. Kraeling *et al.*, *The Synagogue*, New Haven, 1956. Also R. du Mesnil du Buisson, *Les Peintures de la synagogue de Dura-Europos 245–256 après J.-C.*, Instituto Biblico, Rome, 1939; Wischnitzer, *The Messianic Theme in the Paintings of the Dura Synagogue*, Chicago, 1948; *Symbols*, IX–XI.
9. Not a vine, as originally supposed. See Kraeling, *op. cit.*, pp. 62 f.
10. *Ibid.*, pp. 59 ff.
11. *Cf.* p. 46, and S. Krauss, *Synagogale Altertümer*, Berlin–Wien, 1922, p. 380; *Symbols*, I, p. 251.
12. Sukenik, *The Ancient Synagogue of Beth Alpha*, London, 1932, p. 23; Wischnitzer-Bernstein, *Gestalten und Symbole*, p. 49.
13. *Cf.* Negev, *op. cit.*, pp. 207 (n. 183), 209, Heb.; 74*, Engl.
14. *Cf. Symbols*, I, p. 256.
15. *Cf.* p. 43.
16. Albright in *BASOR*, 67 (1937), p. 35.
17. *Cf. Midr. Rabbah*, *Num.* XIV, 10. But see *Symbols*, I, pp. 92 f., III, fig. 97; and M. Smith, 'The Image of God . . . with special reference to Goodenough's work on Jewish symbols', *Bulletin of John Rylands Library*, XL (1957/8), pp. 500 f.

18. *CII*, I, p. 211.
19. N. Müller, *Die jüdische Katakombe am Monteverde zu Rom, der älteste bisher bekannt gewordene jüdische Friedhof des Abendlandes*, Leipzig, 1912, p. 69 (Schriften herausg. v. d. Gesellsch. z. Förderung d. Wissenschaft d. Judentums). For other statistics see H. J. Leon, 'Symbolic Representations in the Jewish Catacombs of Rome', *JAOS*, LXIX (1949), pp. 87 ff.
20. *Cf.* Cohn-Wiener, *op. cit.*, p. 126; Wischnitzer-Bernstein, *Gestalten und Symbole*, pp. 33 f.
21. *Cf.* F. Cumont, 'Un Fragment de sarcophage judéo-païen', *RA*, Ser. v, vol. IV (1916), pp. 1 ff. Repr. and rev. in *id.*, *Recherches sur le symbolisme funéraire des Romains*, Paris, 1942, pp. 484 ff. (Bibliothèque archéologique et historique, XXXV); W. Wirgin, 'The Menorah as Symbol of After-Life', *IEJ*, XIV (1964), p. 104.
22. *Cf. Symbols*, II, pp. 62 f.
23. *Ibid.*, pp. 51, 63 ff.
24. *Cf. CII*, I, no. 675 and *Symbols*, II, pp. 59 f.
25. *Cf.* J. Oehler in *MGWJ*, LIII (1909), pp. 296–301; J. Juster, *Les Juifs dans l'empire romain, leur condition juridique, économique et sociale*, Paris, 1914, I, pp. 188–94.
26. *Cf.* Reifenberg, 'Jüdische Lampen', *JPOS*, XVI (1936), pp. 166–79.
27. *Cf. Symbols*, I, p. 158. For differing view, see Avi-Yonah, *IEJ*, VI (1956), p. 196, n. 6.
28. *Cf.* J. Baramki in *QDAP*, V (1935/6), pp. 3 ff.; Reifenberg, 'Lampen', pp. 173–7.
29. *Cf.* Avi-Yonah, 'Hulda', *Bull. Rab.*, III (1960), pp. 57 ff.
30. Reifenberg, 'Lampen', p. 171; *Symbols*, II, p. 101.
31. Reifenberg, 'Lampen', pp. 171–3.
32. N. Zori, 'The Ancient Synagogue of Beth Shean', *EI*, VIII (1967), p. 163, Heb. (Sukenik Memorial Volume).
33. *Cf.* Beyer & Lietzmann, *op. cit.*, p. 23; Wischnitzer-Bernstein, *Gestalten und Symbole*, p. 124; *Symbols*, II, pp. 114 ff.; I. Schüler, 'A Note on Jewish Gold Glass', *Journal of Glass Studies*, VIII (1966), pp. 48 ff.
34. *Symbols*, I, p. 168.
35. *Ibid.*, p. 169.
36. Beyer & Lietzmann, *op. cit.*, p. 23; *Symbols*, II, pp. 108 f., n. 53.
37. *Cf.* M. Schwabe & A. Reifenberg, 'Ein unbekanntes jüdisches Gold-glas', *RAC*, XV (1938), pp. 319 ff.; *Symbols*, II, pp. 112 f.
38. *Cf.* Beyer & Lietzmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 22 f.; Wischnitzer-Bernstein, *Gestalten und Symbole*, pp. 123 f.
39. I Kings VII, 15–22. *Cf.* Beyer & Lietzmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 22 f.
40. Beyer & Lietzmann, *op. cit.*, p. 195; Wischnitzer-Bernstein, *Gestalten und Symbole*, pp. 91, 124. But see *Symbols*, II, p. 112.
41. *Cf. Symbols*, I, p. 173.
42. *Cf. ibid.*, II, p. 111.
43. *Ibid.*, p. 222. See also E. Peterson, *Heis Theós: Epigraphische, formgeschichtliche und religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen*, Göttingen, 1926, p. 280.
44. Reifenberg, *Ancient Hebrew Arts*, New York, 1950, p. 142, no. 2.
45. *Symbols*, II, p. 218.
46. Reifenberg, *Hebrew Arts*, p. 154.
47. *Symbols*, I, p. 174.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 5

1. Gen. II, 9 and III, 22 ff. (quoted on p. 36).
2. For a review of the whole field see now E. O. James, *The Tree of Life: An Archaeological Study*, Leiden, 1966 (Numen, Suppl. XI). *Cf.* also J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough: A Study in Magic and Religion*, 3rd ed., London, 1932; and C. G. Jung, *Von den Wurzeln des Bewusstseins: Studien über den Archetypus*, Zurich, 1954, pp. 353 ff. (Psychologische Abhandlungen, IX).
3. *Cf.* A. J. Wensinck, *Tree and Bird as Cosmological Symbols in Western Asia*, Amsterdam, 1921, ch. I/B-D (Verhandelingen, K. Akademie van Wetenschappen, Ser. II, vol. XXII). Other important variants were trees 'at the ends of the earth', chiefly in the East and West, but also in the North-West and South

(*ibid.*, ch. I/A). See also James, *Tree of Life*, pp. 129 ff., 245, 255 ff.

4. *Cf.* U. Harva (Holmberg), *Der Baum des Lebens*, Helsinki, 1922–3, pp. 9, 12, 22 ff. (Annales Academiae scientiarum fennicae, Ser. B, XVI/3); M. Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion*, transl. by W. R. Trask, New York (Harper), 1961, pp. 33–8, 52–4, 169, 177; James, *Tree of Life*, pp. 43, 160, 258. Also *ibid.*, Index, *s.v.* 'Pillar'.
5. *Cf.* James, *Tree of Life*, pp. 25 f., 79 ff. (259) and 87; *WM*, Part II, Lief. 5, p. 59, 'Idun'.
6. *Cf.* G. Widengren, *The King and the Tree of Life in Ancient Near Eastern Religion: King and Saviour* IV, *passim* (Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift, 1951/IV).
7. Gen. II, 9 f. *Cf.* S. H. Langdon, *Semitic Mythology*, Boston, 1931, pp. 183 ff. (The Mythology of All Races, V); and J. Gray, *Near Eastern Mythology: Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine*, London, 1969, pp. 62 f. and fig. on p. 60: Amorite mural painting from Mari, *c.* 1900–1700 B.C. (two stylized trees, cherubs, and four streams from one well-head). For Phoenician variant of the myth, see Ezek. XXVIII, 11 ff.
8. Gen. III, 22 ff. On the 'Tree of Truth' in Mesopotamia, see (P.) É. Dhorme, 'L'arbre de vérité et l'arbre de vie', *RB*, 1907, pp. 271 ff. (reprinted in *Recueil Édouard Dhorme*, Paris, 1951, pp. 557 ff.); A. Ungnad, 'Die Paradiesbäume', *ZDMG*, LXXIX (1925), pp. 111 ff.; N. Perrot, 'Les représentations de l'arbre sacré sur les monuments de Mésopotamie et d'Élam', *Babyloniaca*, XVII (1937), p. 12.
9. Ezek. XVII; XIX, 10 ff.; XXXI.
10. Dan. IV, 10 ff. (ascribed to Nebuchadnezzar).
11. Ex. XXV, 8 f. (*ibid.* XXVI, 30; Acts VII, 44; Rev. XI, 19; *Ant.* III, 6, 4 and 7, 7). See also Eliade, *Sacred and Profane*, pp. 60 f.
12. On 'the eyes of the Lord' in connection with the menorah, see p. 43.
13. I Kings VIII, 27 ff. (*ibid.*, 44 and 48; IX, 3).
14. *Cf.* Zech. VIII, 3; Ezek. XLIII, 12.
15. Ezek. V, 5 and XXXVIII, 12; *Bell.* III, 3, 5. *Cf.* Wensinck, *The Ideas of the Western Semites concerning the Navel of the Earth*, Amsterdam, 1916 (Verhandelingen, K. Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afd. Letterkunde, Nieuwe reeks., Dl. XVII, no. 1); Krauss, *op. cit.*, p. 294; A. Jeremias, *Das Alte Testament im Lichte des Alten Orients*, 4th ed., Leipzig, 1930, p. 702; Eliade, *Sacred and Profane*, pp. 42–5.
16. Ezek. XLVII, 12 (Rev. XXII, 1 f.).
17. Song of Songs III, 11. Quoted by Widengren, Religionsphänomenologie, Berlin, 1969, p. 231 (de Gruyter Lehrbuch).
18. *Cf.* H. Gressmann, *Mose und seine Zeit: Ein Kommentar zu den Mose-Sagen*, Göttingen, 1913, pp. 280 ff. (Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments, N.F. I); Widengren, *The King and the Tree of Life*, pp. 39, 60 f.; H. Schmid, *Mose: Überlieferung und Geschichte*, Habil. (Mainz), Berlin, 1968, pp. 48, 50 ff., 62 f., 111 (*BZAW*, 110).
19. *Midr. Rabbah, Num.* XVIII, end. See also *Tb., Yoma* 52b.
20. R. Bauerreiss, *Arbor Vitae: Der 'Lebensbaum' und seine Verwendung in Liturgie, Kunst und Brauchtum des Abendlandes*, Munich, 1938, pp. 29, 136 f.
21. *Cf. ibid.*, pp. 4 f.; Widengren, *Mesopotamian Elements in Manichaeism: King and Saviour* II, pp. 123 ff. (Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift, 1946/III); E. S. Greenhill, 'The Child in the Tree: A Study of the Cosmological Tree in Christian Tradition', *Traditio*, X (1954), pp. 323 ff.
22. *Cf.* A. Wünsche, *Die Sagen vom Lebensbaum und Lebenswasser*, Leipzig, 1905, pp. 23 ff. (Ex Oriente Lux, I:ii/iii).
23. M. E. Hazetline in *Enc. Brit.*, V, p. 642 B.
24. *Cf.* J. Hehn, *Siebenzahl und Sabbat bei den Babyloniern und im Alten Testament: Eine Religionsgeschichtliche Studie*, Leipzig, 1907 (Leipziger semitische Studien, II/5); A. Jeremias, *op. cit.*, Register der Motiv-Zahlen, pp. 821 f., *s.v.* '7'; Bloch, *op. cit.*, pp. 69 f.
25. For examples see W. H. Ward, *The Seal Cylinders of Western Asia*, Washington, 1910; G. Contenau, *La glyptique syro-hittite*, Paris, 1922 (Bibliothèque archéologique et historique, II); H. Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals: A Documentary Essay on the Art and Religion of the Ancient Near East*, London, 1939; *Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in North American Collections*, New York, 1948– (Bollingen Ser., XIV). Also N. Perrot, *op.*

cit.; and H. Danthine, *Le palmier-datier et les arbres sacrés dans l'iconographie de l'Asie occidentale ancienne*, Paris, 1937 (Bibliothèque archéologique et historique, XXV).

26. *Cf.* Langdon, *op. cit.*, p. 179.
27. Harva, *op. cit.*, p. 132.
28. E. Gerhard, *Auserlesene Griechische Vasenbilder, hauptsächlich Etruskischen Fundorts*, Berlin, 1840 ff., III, pp. 141 ff., 173; IV, p. 122 (expl. notes to pls. CCXXIV-CCXXVI). *Cf.* Danthine, *op. cit.*, p. 163; Deut. XVI, 21, and W. L. Reed, *The Asherah in the Old Testament*, Fort Worth, Tex., 1949, pp. 40 ff.
29. Paus. I, 27, 2.
30. *Ibid.* V, 15, 3.
31. First noticed by Widengren, *The King and the Tree of Life*, pp. 64–7.
32. *Cf. Symbols*, IV, p. 73. See also H. G. May, 'The Sacred Tree on Palestine Painted Pottery', *JAOS*, LIX (1939), pp. 251 ff.
33. For identical representation on another Taanak 'altar' found in 1968, see P. W. Lapp in *BASOR*, 195 (1969), pp. 42 ff. and fig. 29 (third register from bottom).
34. Widengren, *The King and the Tree of Life*, pp. 64–7. *Cf.* also H. Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit*, Göttingen, 1895, pp. 167 ff.
35. *Cf.* Ohnefalsch-Richter, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 29 ff.; A. J. Evans, *The Mycenaean Tree and Pillar Cult*, London, 1901, pp. 25 ff., 55 ff., 65 ff.; S. Smith in *Revue d'assyriologie*, XXI (1924), p. 84; and Nonnos, *Dionys.* XL, 469 ff. Also James, *Tree of Life*, pp. 32 ff.
36. *Cf. Symbols*, VII, pp. 93 ff.
37. *Ibid.* On the notion itself, see A. Bertholet, *Das Geschlecht der Gottheit*, Tübingen, 1934, pp. 17 ff. (Sammlung gemeinverständlicher Vorträge, 173); H. Baumann, *Das doppelte Geschlecht: Ethnologische Studien zur Bisexualität in Ritus und Mythos*, Berlin, 1955, especially chs. IV f.; M. Delcourt, *Hermaphroditea: Recherches sur l'être double promoteur de la fertilité dans le monde classique*, Brussels, 1966 (Collection Latomus, LXXXVI).
38. Ex. III, 2 ff.; Deut. XXXIII, 16. *Cf.* Gressmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 23 ff.; W. Robertson Smith, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*, 3rd ed., London, 1927, pp. 193 f. Also Schmid, *op. cit.*, pp. 29 f.
39. *Symbols*, IV, p. 73. *Cf.* also Cook in *PEF, QSt*, 1903, p. 186 and *id.*, *The Religion of Ancient Palestine in the Light of Archaeology*, London, 1930, pp. 87 f. (Schweich Lectures of the British Academy, 1925); Wensinck, *Tree and Bird*, p. 3.
40. For this reference I am grateful to Prof. Geo Widengren, Uppsala.
41. M. Lidzbarski, *Ginza: Der Schatz oder Das grosse Buch der Mandäer*, Göttingen–Leipzig, 1925, p. 429, lines 3–11 (Quellen der Religionsgeschichte, Group 4, vol. XIII). Engl. transl. as in Widengren, *Mesopotamian Elements*, pp. 151 f. For Jewish parallels in eschatology and Cabbala, especially III Enoch and *Bahir*, see *Symbols*, VII, pp. 130 f.
42. *Cf.* E. D. Van Buren, 'The Seven Dots in Mesopotamian Art and their Meaning', *AfO*, 13 (1939–41), pp. 227 ff.; Widengren, *The King and the Tree of Life*, pp. 62 f.
43. Ohnefalsch-Richter, *op. cit.*, I, p. 30. See also Robertson Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 384, 487 f.; Cook, *Religion of Palestine*, p. 64.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 6

1. On traces of tree cult in the Bible, good summaries are given in Reed, *op. cit.*, chs. V f.; *Symbols*, VII, pp. 124 ff.; James, *Tree of Life*, pp. 33 ff. For 'Asherah' as Canaanite fertility goddess and El's consort, see Albright, *From the Stone Age to Christianity: Monotheism and the Historical Process*, 2nd ed. with a new intr., New York (Anchor), 1957, pp. 231 f., 307, 310, 368. Also Reed, *op. cit.*, pp. 76 ff.; James, *Tree of Life*, pp. 15 ff., 179 ff.
2. Ex. IV, 20 and XVII, 9 (IV, 17; VII, 17).
3. Num. XVII, 8. Similarly some rods of Jacob (Gen. XXX, 37).
4. See Josephus' description of the Temple, p. 45.
5. *Cf.* Z. Ameisenowa, 'The Tree of Life in Jewish Iconography', *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, II (1938/9), pp. 326 ff.
6. Hence presumably its mention in Eccl. XII, 5 – according to most commentaries a simile for old people's hair.

7. Philo's remarks on the rod of Aaron (*Mos.* II, 186).
8. *Cf.* Gen. XLIII, 11.
8a. *Mos.* II, 180 f.
9. With Arnob., *Adv. Nat.* V, 5 ff. contrast Paus. VII, 17, 10 ff. (Hippolytus, *Elenchus* V, 9) and see F. C. Movers, *Die Phönizier*, Aalen (Scientia), 1967, I, pp. 578, 586 (Reissue). Movers' etymology, to be sure, has not gone unchallenged, though hardly with convincing results. See e.g. W. Muss-Arnolt, *Semitic Words in Greek and Latin*, 1892, pp. 106 f. (Trans. of the Americ. Philol. Assoc., XXIII); É. Boisacq, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*, 4th ed., Heidelberg, 1950, p. 56, *amygdale*; and finally H. Frisk, *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Heidelberg, 1954 ff., I, p. 96, *ad loc.*: 'Fremdwort unbekannten Ursprungs'. It is also worth recalling that the almond tree, a native of Asia, is a relative late-comer in Greece and Europe: 'If we compare the chief passages, we recognise at least *one* indubitable geographical fact, namely, that all these fruits [almonds, walnuts and chestnuts] came from the middle parts of Asia Minor, particularly from the regions of the Pontus, and at a comparatively late period. All the names used by the ancient authors point to that part of the world' (V. Hehn, *The Wanderings of Plants and Animals*, Engl. transl., London, 1888, p. 294). See also the comprehensive review by P. Wagler in *PW*, I, cols. 1990 ff.
10. *Cf. AHw*, p. 40, *amagallu* (sum. Lehnwort 'Grosse Mutter'); *CAD*, A/II, p. 1, *ad loc.*: 'Probably derived from Sumerian ama.gal'.
11. Hippolytus, *loc. cit.* For general background, see J. Przyluski, 'Ursprünge und Entwicklung des Kultes der Mutter-Göttin', 'Die Mutter-Göttin als Verbindung zwischen den Lokal-Göttern und dem Universal-Gott', *Eranos-Jahrbuch*, VI (1938), pp. 11 ff., 35 ff. (Vorlesungen über Gestalt und Kult der 'Grossen Mutter'); James, *The Cult of the Mother Goddess: An Archaeological and Documentary Study*, London, 1959, esspecially chs. I, VIII; and D. Nielsen, *Der dreieinige Gott in religionshistorischer Beleuchtung*, Copenhagen, 1922–42, I, chs. 5 ff. Also C. J. Bleeker, *The Sacred Bridge: Researches into the Nature and Structure of Religion*, Leiden, 1963, pp. 83 ff. (Numen, Suppl. VII). For psychological interpretations, *cf.* Jung, *op. cit.*, pp. 89 ff.; E. Neumann, *Die Grosse Mutter: Der Archetyp des Grossen Weiblichen*, Zurich, 1956.
12. *Cf.* e.g. *CIS*, I, no. 195 (Em Rabbat Tinnit); and *Symbols*, IX, p. 201 (on Anahita).
13. *Cf.* W. Fauth in *Kl. P.*, III (1969), cols. 383 ff., 'Kybele'; K. Ziegler, *ibid.*, col. 1074 ('niemals *Magna Mater*'). For special studies see G. Showerman, *The Great Mother of the Gods*, Diss., Madison, Wisc., 1901 (Univ. of Wisconsin, Bull., Philol. a. Lit. Ser., I/3); H. Graillot, *Le culte de Cybèle, mère des dieux, à Rome et dans l'empire romain*, Paris, 1912 (Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, CVII); James, *Mother Goddess*, chs. VI f.
14. Gen. XXX, 37. *Cf. Wörterbuch*, p. 381; A. Jeremias, *op. cit.*, Hebräisches Motivregister, p. 758.
15. Gen. XXVIII, 19. For religious and political background see e.g. M. Noth, *Die Welt des Alten Testaments: Einführung in die Grenzgebiete der alttestamentlichen Wissenschaft*, 4th ed., Berlin, 1962, pp. 314 f.; V. Maag, 'Sichembund und Vätergötter', *VT, Spl.*, XVI (1967), pp. 214 ff. (W. Baumgartner Volume).
16. Wensinck, *Tree and Bird*, p. 33.
17. Judg. I, 26.
18. *Midr. Rabbah, Gen.* LXIX, 7 and *Lev.* XVIII, 1.
19. *Tb., Sotah* 46b; *Midr. Rabbah, Lev.* XVIII, 1. For similar myth, see S. N. Kramer, *The Sumerians*, Chicago, 1963, p. 282 ('Enki and Ninhursag').
20. *Midr. Rabbah, Lev.* XVIII, 1 and *Eccl.* XII, 5; Löw, *Aramäische Pflanzennamen*, Leipzig, 1881, pp. 374 ff., no. 319 and n. 2. As K. Kohler pointed out, the legend possibly 'owes its origin to the Egyptian rite of burying "the spinal column of Osiris" in the holy city of Busiris, at the close of the days of mourning for Osiris, after which his resurrection was celebrated' (*Jew. Enc.*, VIII, p. 219; H. Brugsch, *Religion und Mythologie der alten Aegypter*, Leipzig, 1888, pp. 618, 634). For representations of the column – in most cases reminiscent of Phoenician cressets (figs. 9–12, esp. 12) – see Albright,

'Cressets from Marisa', pp. 25 ff. *Cf.* also H. Schäfer, 'Djed-Pfeiler, Lebenszeichen, Osiris, Isis', *Studies Presented to F. Ll. Griffith*, London, 1932, pp. 424 ff. (Egypt Exploration Society); James, *Tree of Life*, pp. 38 ff. In the opinion of A. Moret, *The Nile and Egyptian Civilization*, transl. by M. R. Dobie, London, 1927, pp. 81 f., probably of Syro-Phoenician origin.

21. *Cf. Wörterbuch*, pp. 859 f.; *UT*, p. 506, no. 2734; Löw, *Die Flora der Juden*, Wien–Leipzig, 1924–34, III, pp. 150 f. In Akkadian also feminine: see R. Campbell Thompson, *A Dictionary of Assyrian Botany*, London, 1949, p. 254, *šikittu*.
22. Jer. I, 11 f. *Cf.* Rudolph, *op. cit.*, pp. 6 and 10 f.
23. Judging by the discs atop the branches, possibly of Syro-Phoenician provenance. For a similar four-branched variety from Nob, Palestine, see *Univ. Jew. Enc.*, VI, p. 516. *Cf.* also Pliny on the Theban specimen on the Palatine (*Nat. Hist.* XXXIV, 8).

NOTES TO CHAPTER 7

1. M. Buber, *I and Thou*, transl. by R. G. Smith, 2nd ed., New York (Scribner), 1958, p. 7.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 126.
3. Zech. IV, 10b (*ibid.* III, 9; Rev. V, 6). The phrase as such appears also in II Chron. XVI, 9: 'For the eyes of the Lord run to and fro throughout the whole earth, to show his might in behalf of those, whose heart is blameless toward him.' For the masculine of 'range', Zech. IV, 10b (MT), see E. Sellin, *Das Zwölfprophetenbuch*, Leipzig, 1930, p. 509 (Kommentar zum Alten Testament, XII/2).
4. Thus Gunkel, *op. cit.*, pp. 125 ff. followed, for instance, by W. Nowack in *Jew. Enc.*, III, p. 533; Wensinck, *Tree and Bird*, p. 12; A. Jeremias, *op. cit.*, p. 438; Wischnitzer-Bernstein, *Gestalten und Symbole*, pp. 69 f.; F. Horst, *Die Zwölf Kleinen Propheten: Nahum bis Maleachi*, 3rd ed., Tübingen, 1964, p. 231 (Handbuch zum Alten Testament, Ser. I, 14). According to R. Pettazzoni, 'One of the most significant traits in which . . . omniscience of sky-gods expresses itself . . . is that they are equipped with eyes, which are the stars, or else the sun and moon. The notion of the stars being eyes is quite widely spread' (*The All-knowing God: Researches into early Religion and Culture*, transl. by H. J. Rose, London, 1956, p. 6).
5. A. Jeremias, *op. cit.*, p. 438, n. 2; B. L. Goff, *Symbols of Prehistoric Mesopotamia*, New Haven-London, 1963, p. 153 and fig. 346.
6. Wischnitzer-Bernstein, *Gestalten und Symbole*, p. 70. *Cf.* F. Boll, *Sphaera: Neue griechische Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Sternbilder*, Leipzig, 1903, pp. 200, 204, 216 ff.
7. Zech. IV, 3 and 11.
8. *Cf.* Wischnitzer-Bernstein, *Gestalten und Symbole*, p. 70; L. Rost, 'Bemerkungen zu Sacharja 4', *ZAW*, 63 (1951), p. 218; *Symbols*, IV, p. 73. Also Wensinck, *Tree and Bird*, p. 22; Sellin, *op. cit.*, p. 507; and Horst, *op. cit.*, p. 230. For an extreme view see P. Haupt, 'The Visions of Zechariah', *JBL*, XXXII (1913), pp. 116 ff., 120 ff.
9. Zech. IV, 12. *Cf.* L. G. Rignell, *Die Nachtgesichte des Sacharja: Eine exegetische Studie*, Diss., Lund, 1950, p. 169.
10. Zech. IV, 2. With Rignell, *op. cit.*, pp. 146 ff., especially 149 f. ('crown') contrast K. Möhlenbrink, 'Der Leuchter im fünften Nachtgesicht des Propheten Sacharja: Eine archäologische Untersuchung', *ZDPV*, LII (1929), pp. 276 ff., reconstr. in *BRL*, cols. 347 f., fig. 10 (followed by RSV). For earlier views see RV, and Ch. H. H. Wright, *Zechariah and his Prophecies*, London, 1879, pp. 81 ff. (reconstr., p. 84); Wischnitzer-Bernstein, *Gestalten und Symbole*, p. 69; *Symbols*, IV, p. 73.
11. Zech. IV, 6b–10a. *Cf.* Wischnitzer-Bernstein, *Gestalten und Symbole*, pp. 33 f., 71, 74; Rost, *op. cit.*, p. 220; Namenyi, *op. cit.*, ch. V: 'The Candlestick of the Redemption'. According to *Pes. Rabbathi* VIII, p. 29, the menorah proper stands for Israel and the 'bowl' or 'crown' for God.
12. Zech. IV, 14 (Rev. XI, 4 ff.).
13. *Cf.* Zech. VI, 13, and Wischnitzer-Bern-

stein, *Gestalten und Symbole*, pp. 33, 71; Rost, *op. cit.*, pp. 218 ff.; Horst, *op. cit.*, p. 231.

14. Cumont, *Astrology and Religion among the Greeks and Romans*, transl. by J. B. Baker, New York (Dover), 1960, p. 42 (Reissue).
15. *Ibid.*, pp. 44 f.
16. Diod. Sic. II, 30, 2 ff.
17. *Timaeus* 38 B–C.
18. *Cf.* Harva, *op. cit.*, pp. 5–9; Ungnad, *op. cit.*, p. 113; Wensinck, *Tree and Bird*, p. 33. Also A. Jeremias, *op. cit.*, p. 65; and Th. H. Gaster, *Thespis: Ritual, Myth and Drama in the Ancient Near East*, 2nd ed., New York (Harper), 1966, pp. 181 ff., especially 183.
19. Cumont, *Astrology and Religion*, pp. 45, 75. *Cf.* also James, *The Worship of the Sky-God: A Comparative Study in Semitic and Indo-European Religion*, London, 1963, Index, *s.v.* 'Sky-god' (Jordan Lectures, VI).
20. The standard works in this field are O. Neugebauer, *Vorlesungen über Geschichte der antiken mathematischen Wissenschaften*, I: *Vorgriechische Mathematik*, Berlin, 1934; *id.*, *The Exact Sciences in Antiquity*, 2nd ed., Providence, R.I., 1957, and 'The History of Ancient Astronomy', *JNES*, IV/I (1945), pp. 1 ff. See also O. Spengler, 'Meaning of Numbers', *The World of Mathematics*, ed. J. R. Newman, New York, 1956, IV, pp. 2315 ff., esp. pp. 2327 f.; Th. Heath, *Aristarchus of Samos, the ancient Copernicus*, Oxford, 1959, pp. 299 ff. (Reissue).
21. As observed by Vincent (*Archéologie du temple*, p. 461), these measurements are almost identical with those of the huge forest gate in Gilgamesh, Epos VII, I, 43 ff.: 'Six dozen cubits is thy height, two dozen thy breadth . . . A master-craftsman in Nippur built thee' (*ANET*, p. 86).
22. *Cf.* also Tac., *Hist.* V, 5. According to Strabo, another golden vine – known as 'garden' or 'delight' (*terpole*) – was presented by Aristobulus II to Pompey (64 B.C.) and was later at the temple of Jupiter on the Capitol (*Ant.* XIV, 3, 1). See R. Marcus' notes *ad. loc.*, Loeb ed.; and Galling, 'Die Terpole des Alexander Jannäus', *BZAW*, 77 (1958), pp. 49 ff. (Festschrift für O. Eissfeldt).
23. *Bell.* V, 4 f. It may be added that the Outer Enclosure of the Temple (now Haram-al Sherif), which for the most part is artificial, was one of the largest in antiquity. It is bigger, for instance, than the Acropolis at Athens, double its width and more than 100 yards longer. 'An equivalent area in London', writes S. Perowne, 'would be that enclosed by Pall Mall, St. James' Street, Jermyn Street, and Lower Regent Street' (*The Life and Times of Herod the Great*, London (Arrow), 1960, pp. 146 f.).
24. *Ant.* III, 6, 4 and 7, 7.
25. *Ibid.*, 6, 7 and 7, 7.
26. *Cf.* A. Jeremias, *op. cit.*, pp. 438, 603.
27. *Ant.* III, 7.
28. *Cf.* Eisler, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 35 ff., 60, 62.
29. *Symbols*, IV, p. 87.
30. *Cf.* H. A. Wolfson, *Philo: Foundations of religious philosophy in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam*, Cambridge, Mass., (1947) 1948.
31. *Cf.* Goodenough, *An Introduction to Philo Judaeus*, New Haven, 1940, ch. 2; *Symbols*, IV, pp. 82 ff.
32. *Cf. Quaest. Gen.* I, 10.
33. *Mos.* II, 105; *Quis Her.* 221, 225 f.
34. *Quis Her.* 227 ff.; *Quaest. Ex.* II, 81.
35. *Quaest. Ex.* II, 74 and 81.
36. *Ibid.*, 73 and 80.
37. *Ibid.*, 75.
38. *Mos.* II, 103; *Quis Her.* 221 ff.
39. *Mos.* II, 102; *Quaest. Ex.* II, 79.
40. *Congr.* 8; *Symbols*, IV, p. 84 and n. 107.
41. *Quis Her.* 226; *Symbols*, IV, p. 86.
42. Gen. XVII, 15 ff.
43. *Cf. Congr.* 7 f., *Cher.* 4–8 and *Symbols*, IV, pp. 84 f. For the notion of Virgin Mother in early Canaanite mythology, see Albright, *Stone Age to Christianity*, p. 233.
44. Similarly in *Tb.*, *Baba Bathra* 25b. On the importance of 'Wisdom' in Jewish tradition, not least in the Tree of Life context, see H. Ringgren, *Word and Wisdom: Studies in the Hypostatization of Divine Qualities and Functions in the Ancient Near East*, Diss. (Uppsala), Lund, 1947, pp. 140–3.
45. *Quis Her.* 216–24; *Symbols*, IV, pp. 85 f.
46. Rev. I, 10 ff. (*The New Engl. Bible: New Testament*, Oxford–Cambridge, 1961, pp. 421 f.). *Cf.* A. Farrer, *A Rebirth of Images: The Making of St. John's Apocalypse*, Westminster, 1949, pp. 37, 59 f., 96 ff., 311 f. See also Bloch, *op. cit.*, pp. 68 ff., quoting Clement of Alexandria,

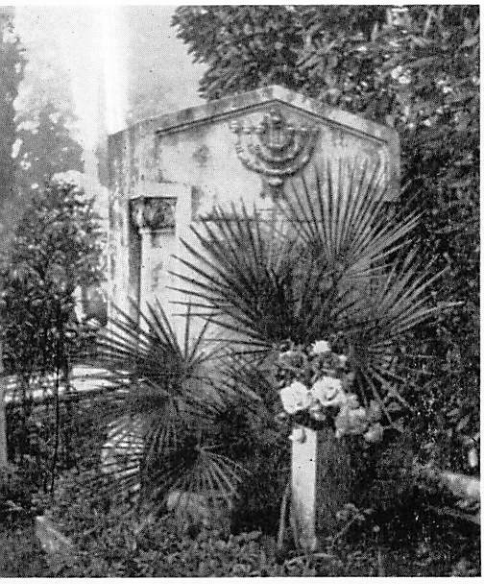
Gregory the Great and other Church Fathers to the same effect.

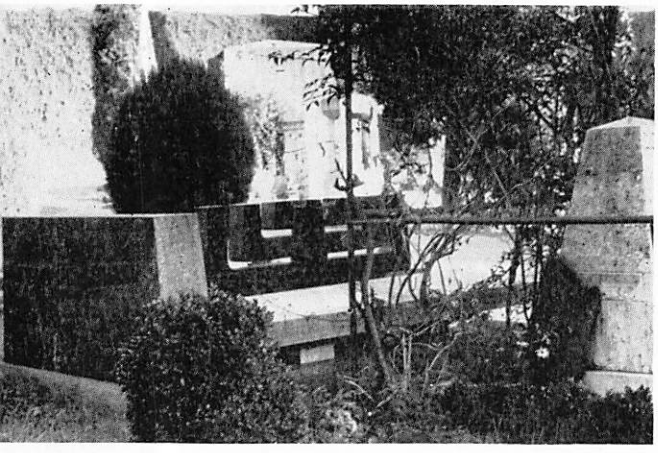
47. Gen. XVI, 13.
48. *Cf. Symbols*, II, pp. 136 f., IV, pp. 79 ff. and XII, p. 81.
49. *Cf. ibid.*, II, pp. 54, 136, IV, p. 81, and J. Haase, *Der siebenarmige Leuchter des Alten Bundes, seine Geschichte und Symbolik*, Munich, 1922, pp. 23 ff. For additional examples, see above, p. 27 (figs. 140, 141 – tombstone from Pannonia); *Symbols*, IV, pp. 81 f. (III, figs. 729, 1009, 1027); *CIL*, VIII, no. 16701.
50. *Symbols*, IV, p. 80. See also M. Smith, 'Image of God', pp. 497 ff. According to Haase, *op. cit.*, p. 23: 'Manifestation and Live Garment of Deity'. Eltester, *op. cit.*, pp. 66, 76: 'Ideogram of God's Power and Rule'.
51. 'Once', records *Ty.*, *Hagigah* III, 8, 'the menorah was immersed, (and) the Sadducees exclaimed: look, the Pharisees are immersing the solar sphere.' On Sadducean and Pharisean views before A.D. 70, see M. Smith, 'Palestinian Judaism in the First Century', *Israel: Its Role in Civilization*, ed. M. Davis, New York, 1956, pp. 67 ff.
52. *Cf.* G. P. Conger, *Theories of Macrocosms and Microcosms in the History of Philosophy*, New York, 1922, p. 39.
53. *Cf. Midr. Rabbah, Ex.* XXXVI, 13; *ibid., Num.* XIV, 10; *Midr. Tanhuma, Beha 'alothekha* (Num.), ed. S. Buber, § 6.
54. *Midr. Rabbah, Num.* XV, 7; *Midr. Tadshe* XI; *Yelamdenu* in *Yalqut, Num.* VIII, 2. *Cf.* also *Midr. Rabbah, ibid.* XII, 16; *Midr. Tadshe* II; *Midr. Aggada, Ex.* XXXVIII, 21.
55. *Midr. Rabbah, Num.* XV, 8 f. *Cf. Tb., Menahoth* 86b; *Sifr., Lev.* XXIV, 3.
56. *Midr. Rabbah, Num.* XV, 5 f., as summarized in *Symbols*, IV, p. 90.
57. This conclusion seems inevitable, for even if actual menorahs were used in the synagogues, they would only have burnt during the services.
58. *Midr. Rabbah, Ex.* L, 5.
59. *Ibid., Num.* XV, 4 (Prov. XX, 27).
60. *Midr. Rabbah, Num.* XV, 10.
61. M. Ehrenpreis, *Talmud*, Stockholm, 1933, p. 60 (Sw.).
62. *Cf.* Haase, *op. cit.*, pp. 15 ff. The notion as such is of course very old. *Cf.*, for instance, Anaximander's concept of *apeiron* (H. Diels, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, ed. W. Kranz, 5th ed., Berlin, 1934 ff., I, p. 89, B 1–3) and the teachings ascribed to Simon Magus (Acts VIII, 10; Irenaeus I, 23; Hippolytus, *Elenchus* VI, 9 ff.). Also interesting is Spinoza's later definition: 'By God I understand Being absolutely infinite, that is to say, substance consisting of infinite attributes, each one of which expresses eternal and infinite essence' (*Ethics*, I, Def. VI, Hafner Classics 11, New York, (1949) 1960, p. 41).
63. Quotations from the *Zohar* are all from *Beha 'alothekha* (Num.), 148b–151b.
64. Ps. XIX, 1 and 4 ff.
65. *Republic* VII.
66. *Cf.* J. E. Raven, *Plato's Thought in the Making*, Cambridge, 1965, ch. 10: 'Sun, Divided Line and Cave' (first printed in *Classical Quarterly*, Jan.–Apr. 1953).
67. *Cf. Symbols*, IV, p. 94, n. 142.
68. Line 420. Transl. by G. Madison Priest.
69. Lines 434, 437 ff.
70. Lines 447–53.
71. *Cf.* H. Jantz, *Goethe's Faust as a Renaissance Man: Parallels and Prototypes*, Princeton, 1951, p. 62.
72. *Ibid.*
73. *Ibid.*, p. 65.
74. Lines 359–65. Quoted by Jantz, *op. cit.*, p. 67.
75. Nostradamus' grandfather, also a medical man and physician to King René of Anjou, was a convert who took the name Pierre de Notre Dame (C. Roth, *The Jewish Contribution to Civilisation*, Oxford (East & West), 1945, p. 189, n. 2).
76. *Cf.* Jantz, *op. cit.*, p. 75.
77. *Faust*, lines 382 ff.
78. Quoted by Jantz, *op. cit.*, pp. 70, 168, n. 13, from the French-English edition by Th. de Garencières, *The True Prophecies or Prognostications of Michael Nostradamus*, London, 1672, where the second quatrain reads as follows:

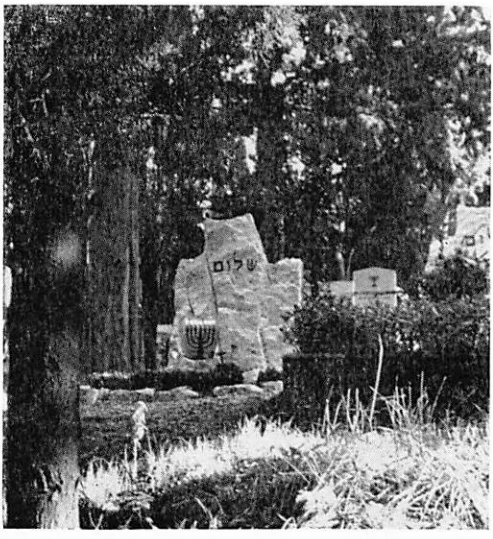
    With Rod in hand, set in the middle of the Branches,
    With water I wet the Limb and the Foot,
    In fear I writ, quaking in my sleeves,
    Divine splendor! the Divine sitteth by.

79. So even Jantz, *op. cit.*, p. 72.
80. Lines 2038 f.
81. *Die Welt*, Dec. 31, 1897. The sketch is not preserved.

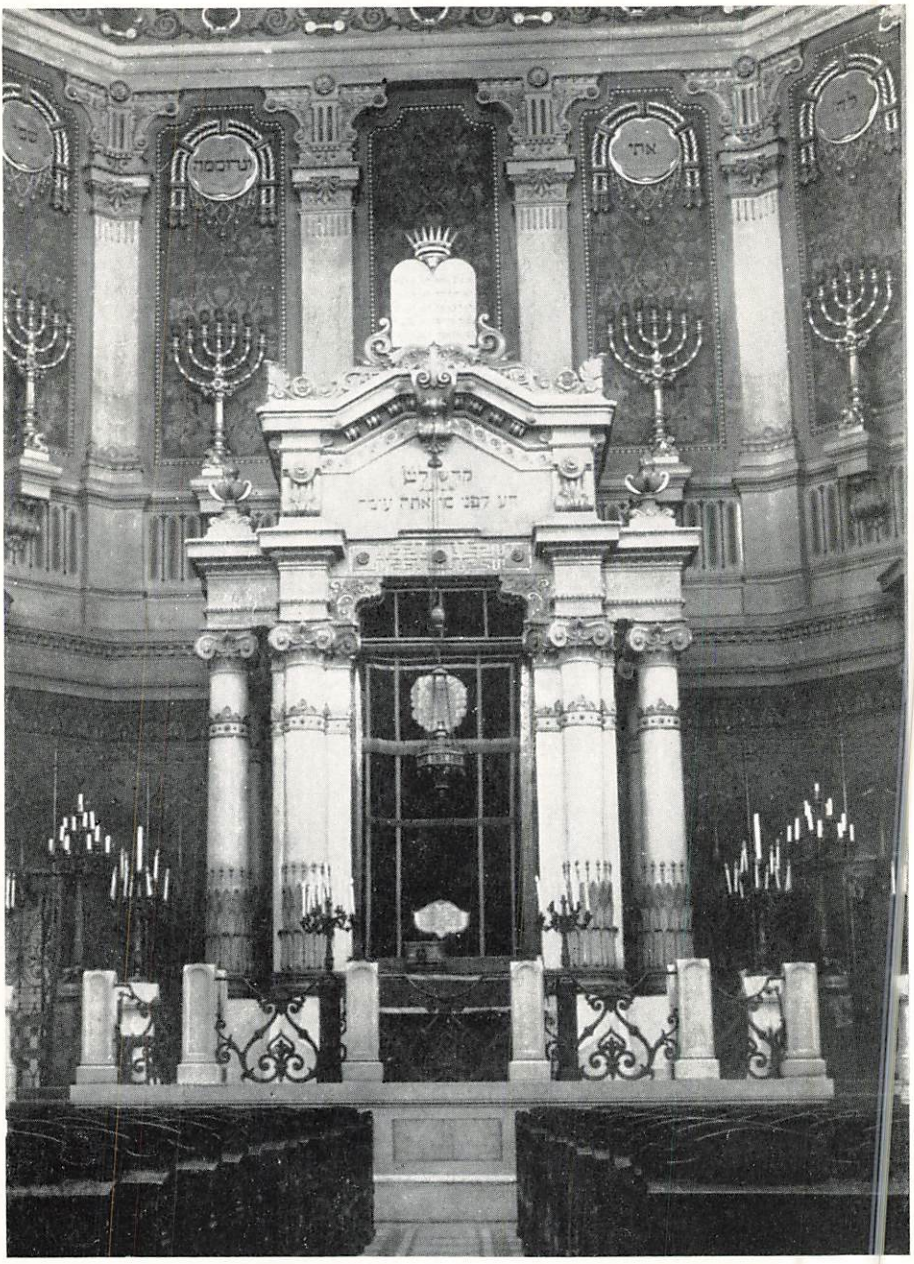
ILLUSTRATIONS





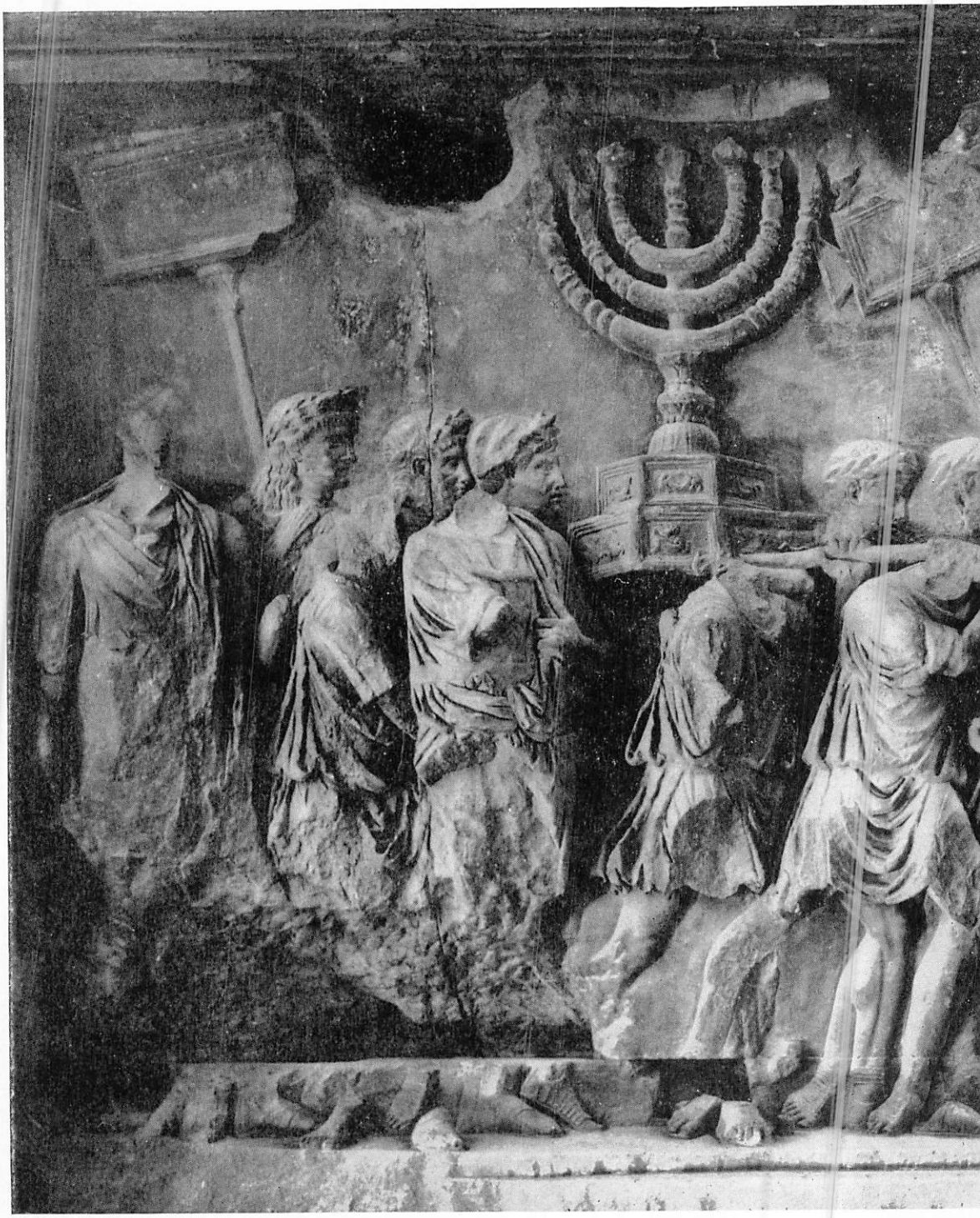


a—e (p. vi)



2 (pp. vi, 22)

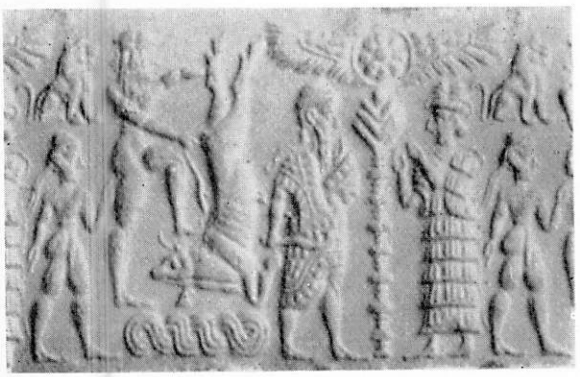
3 (p. vi)



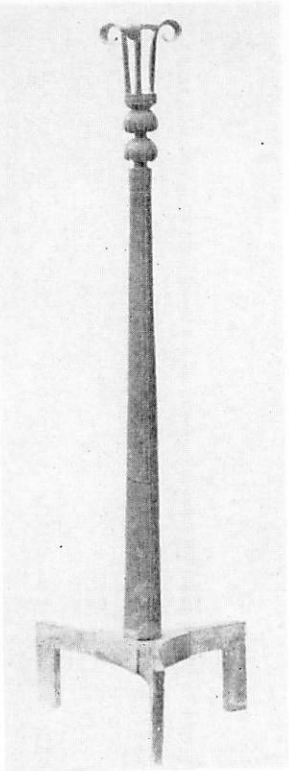
4 (pp. 6, 9)

5 (pp. 9, 12)

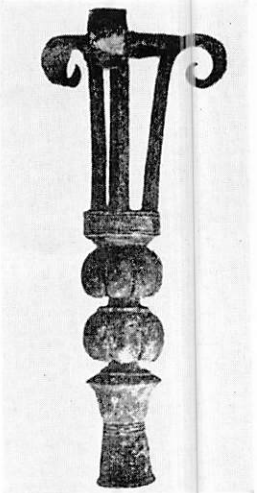
6 (pp. 38f.)



7-8 (pp. 12, 35)



9 (pp 12, 63, 67)



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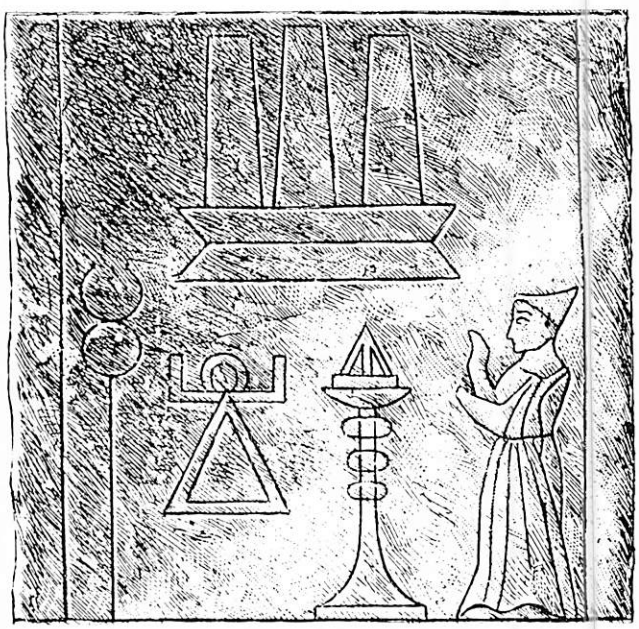

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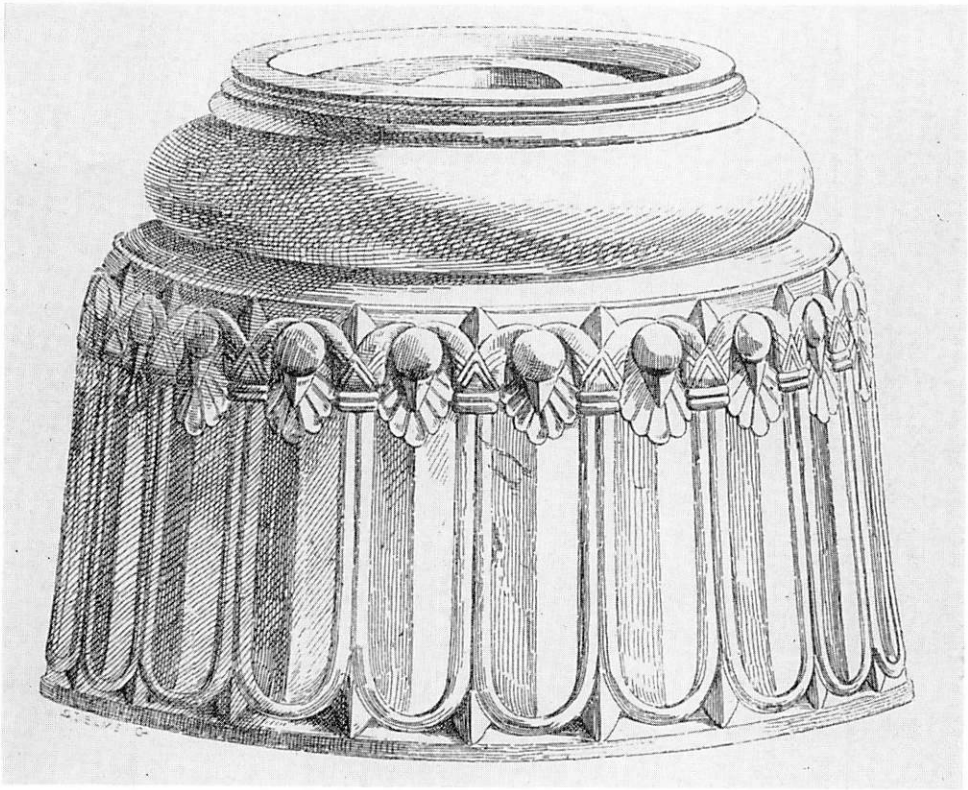
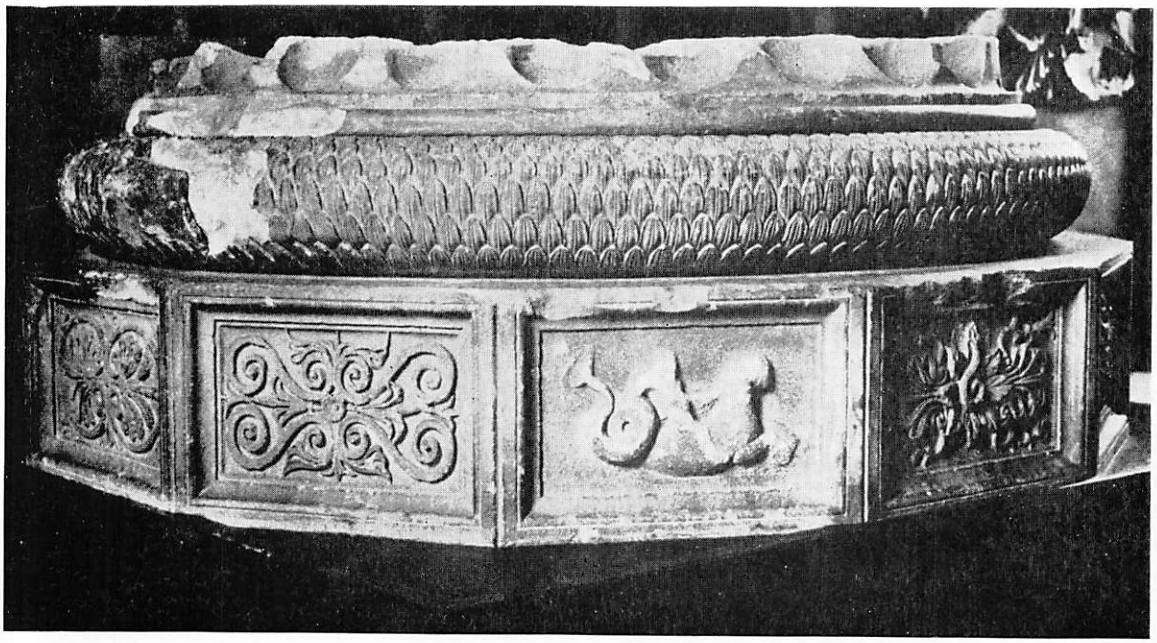


13 (p. 12)



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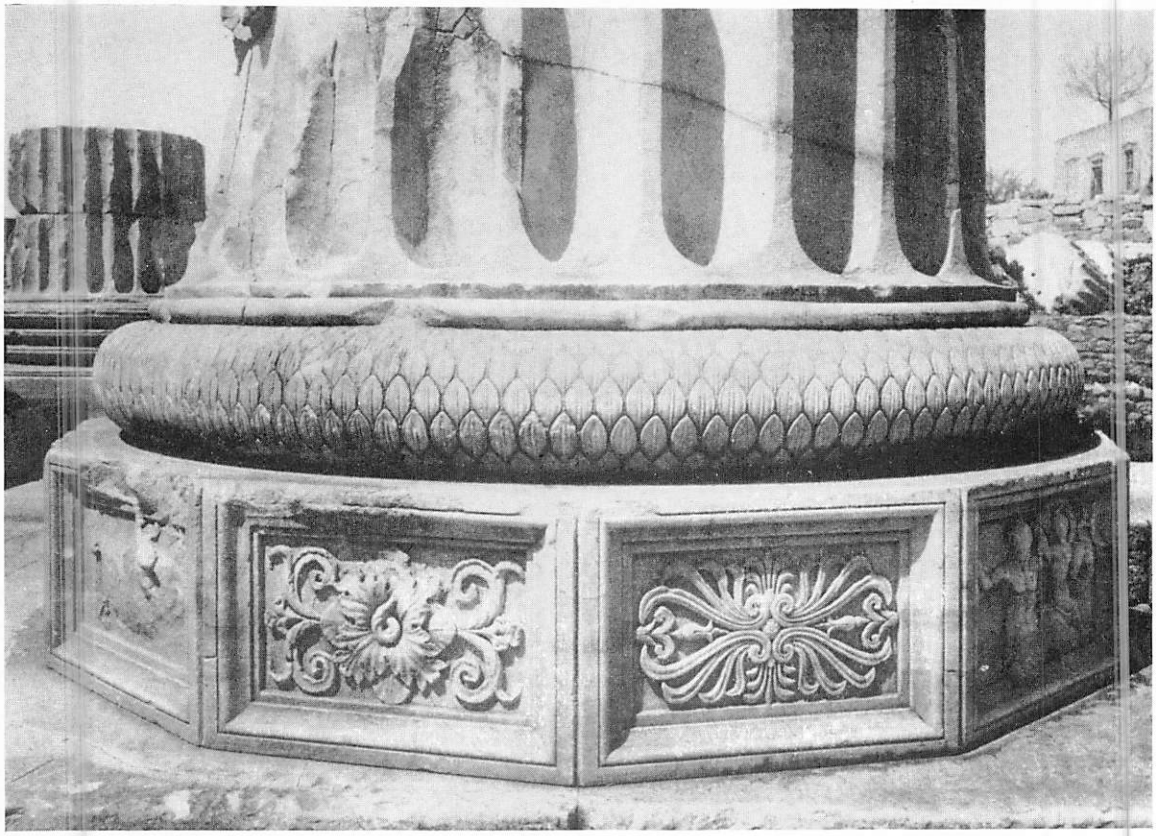
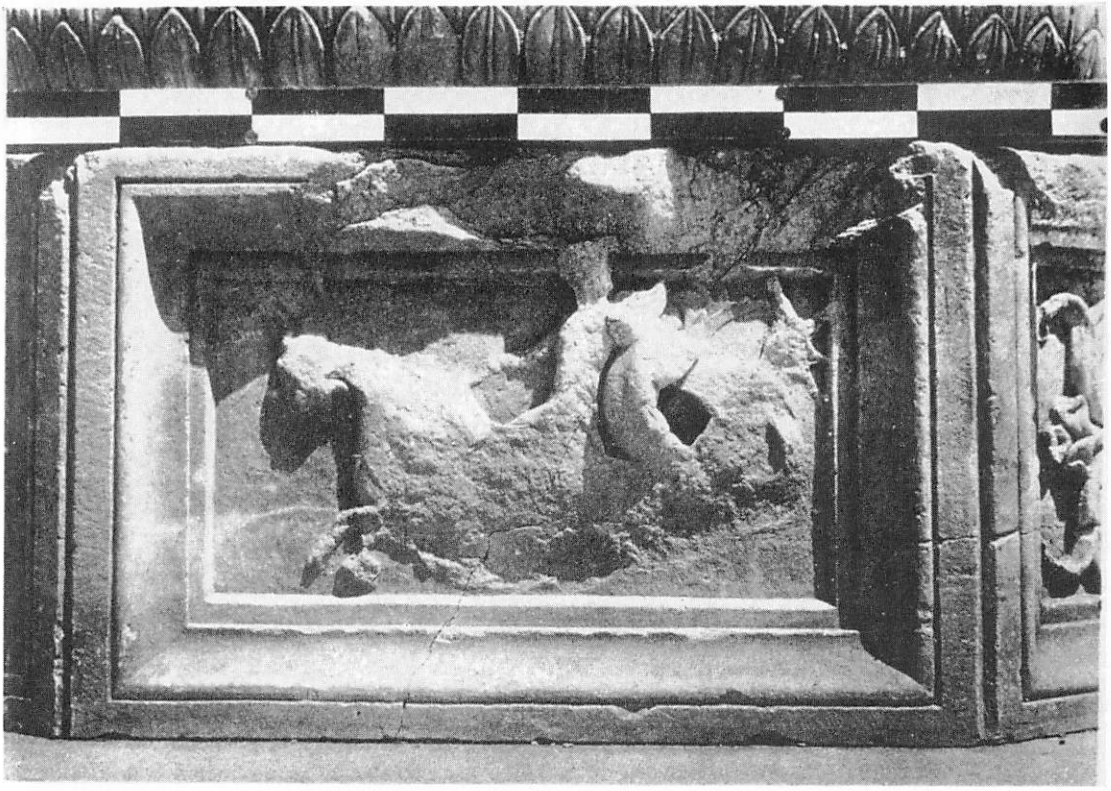


15 (p. 12)

16 (p. 12)



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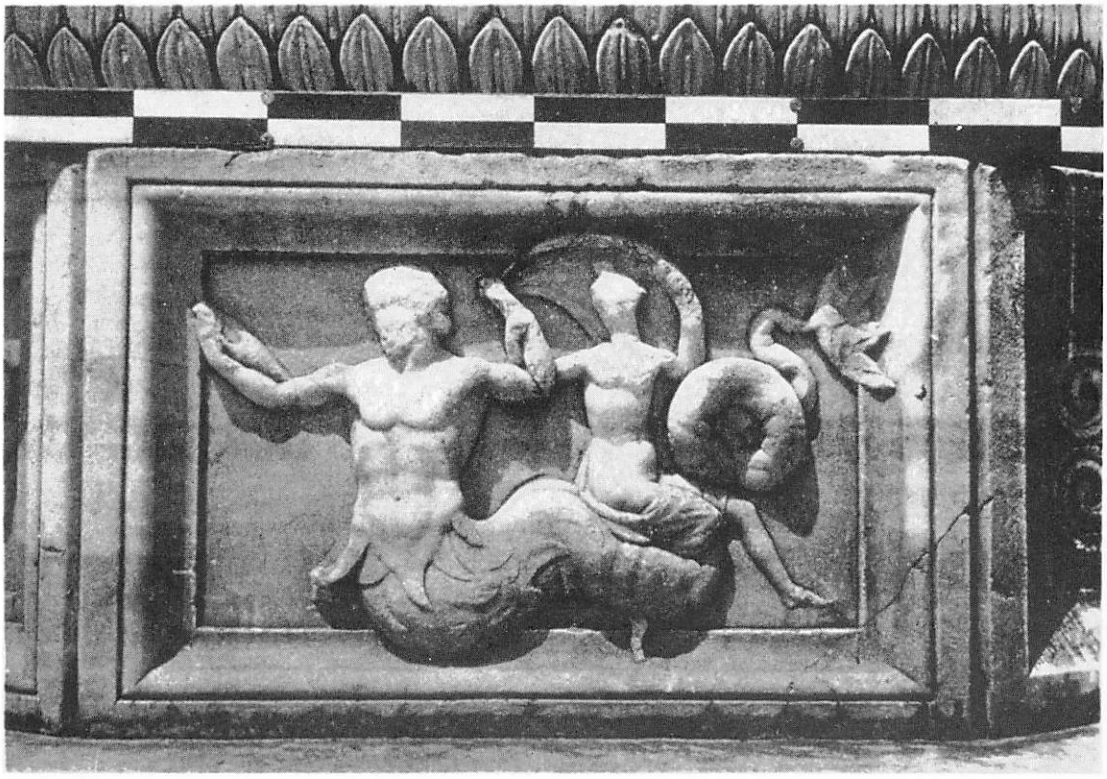

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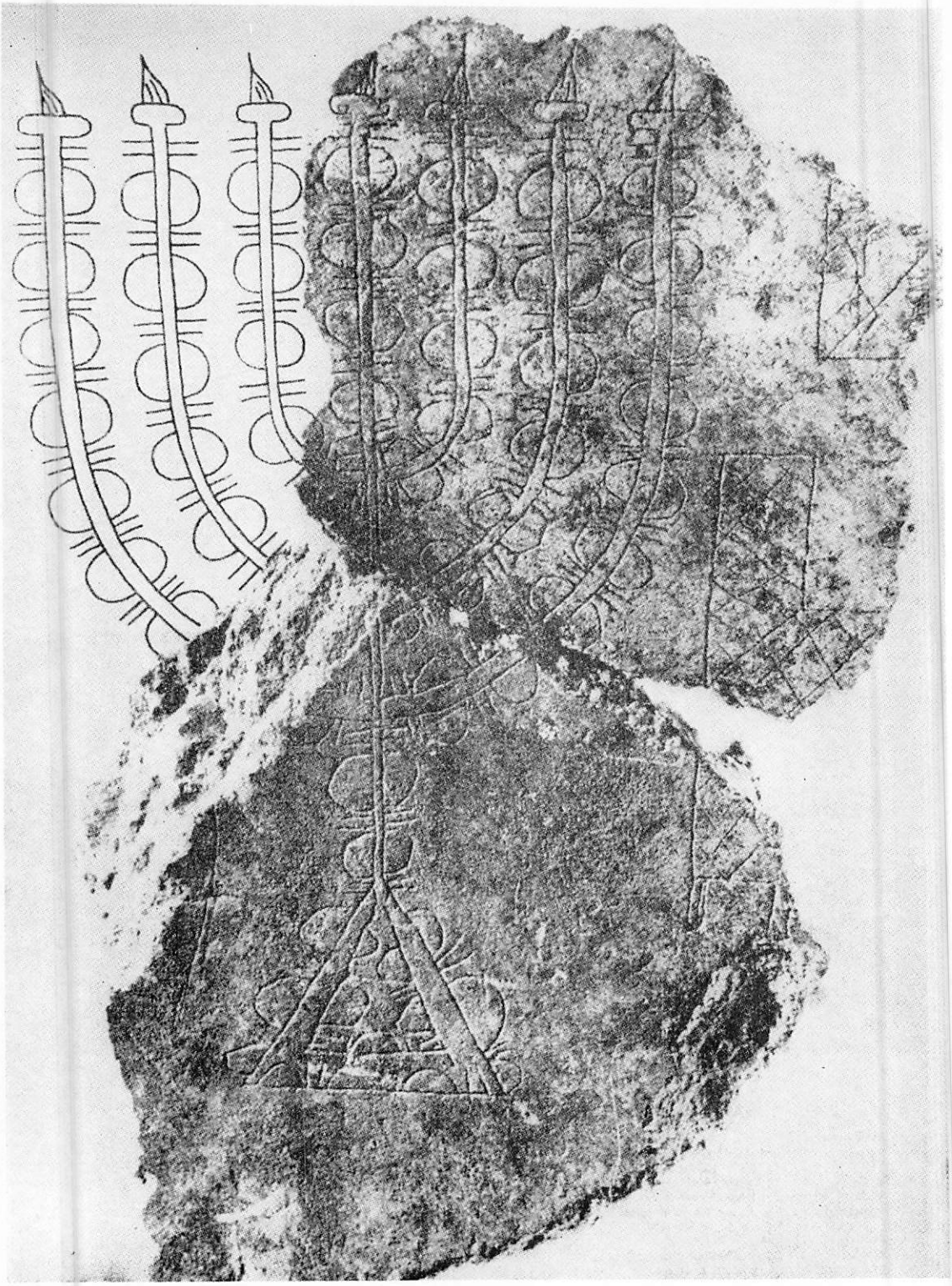
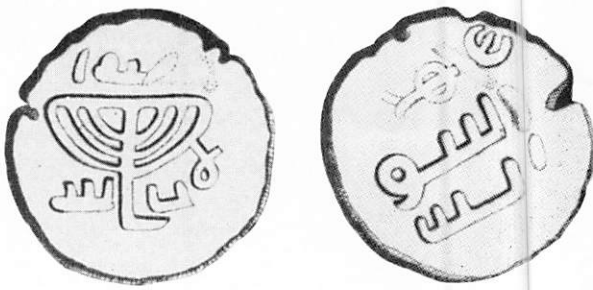


19 (pp. 9, 11, 17, 59)

20 (pp. 9, 11, 17)

21 (pp. 11, 17)

22 (pp. 11, 17)



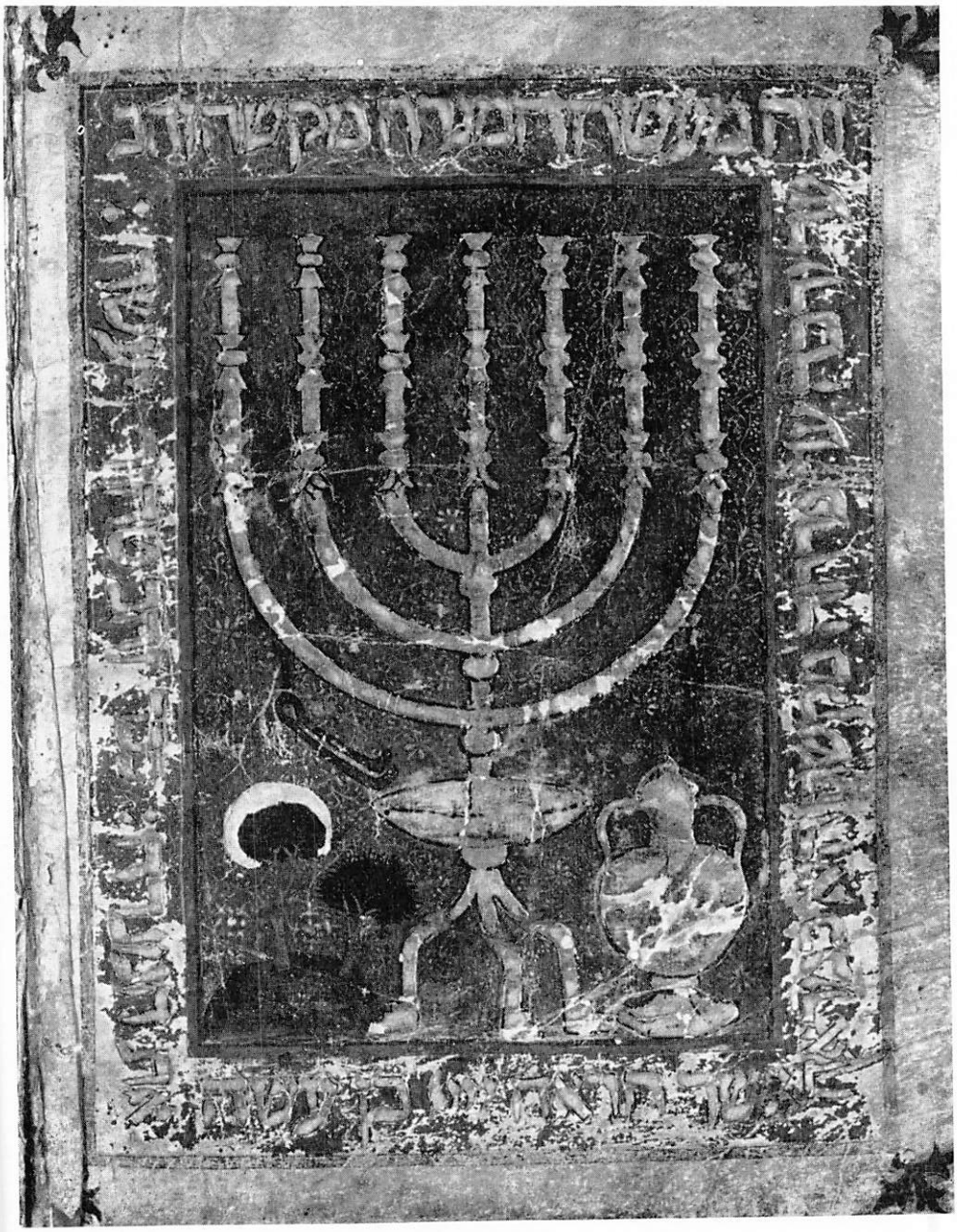
23 (p. 17)

24 (p. 18)

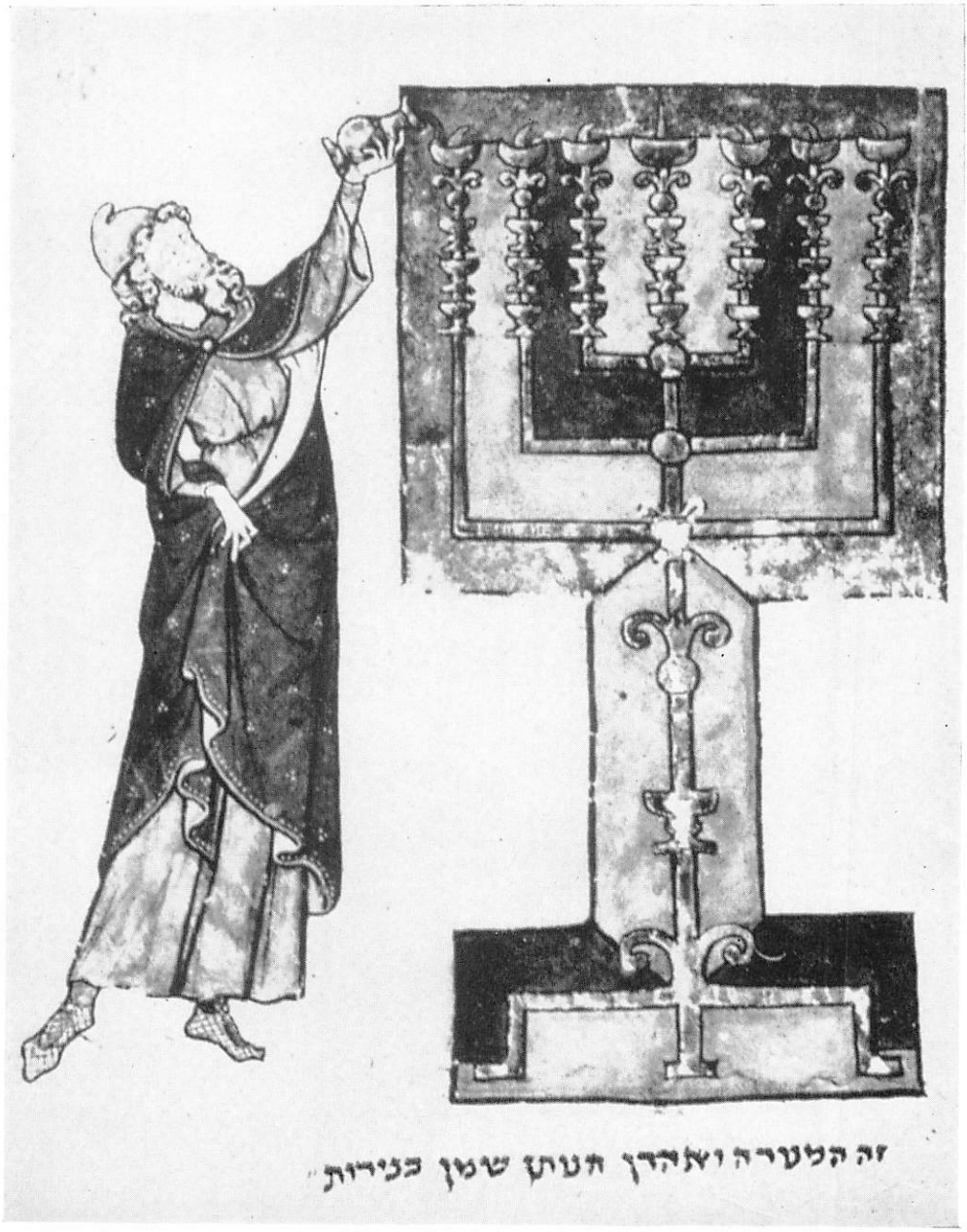
25 (p. 18)

26 (p. 18)

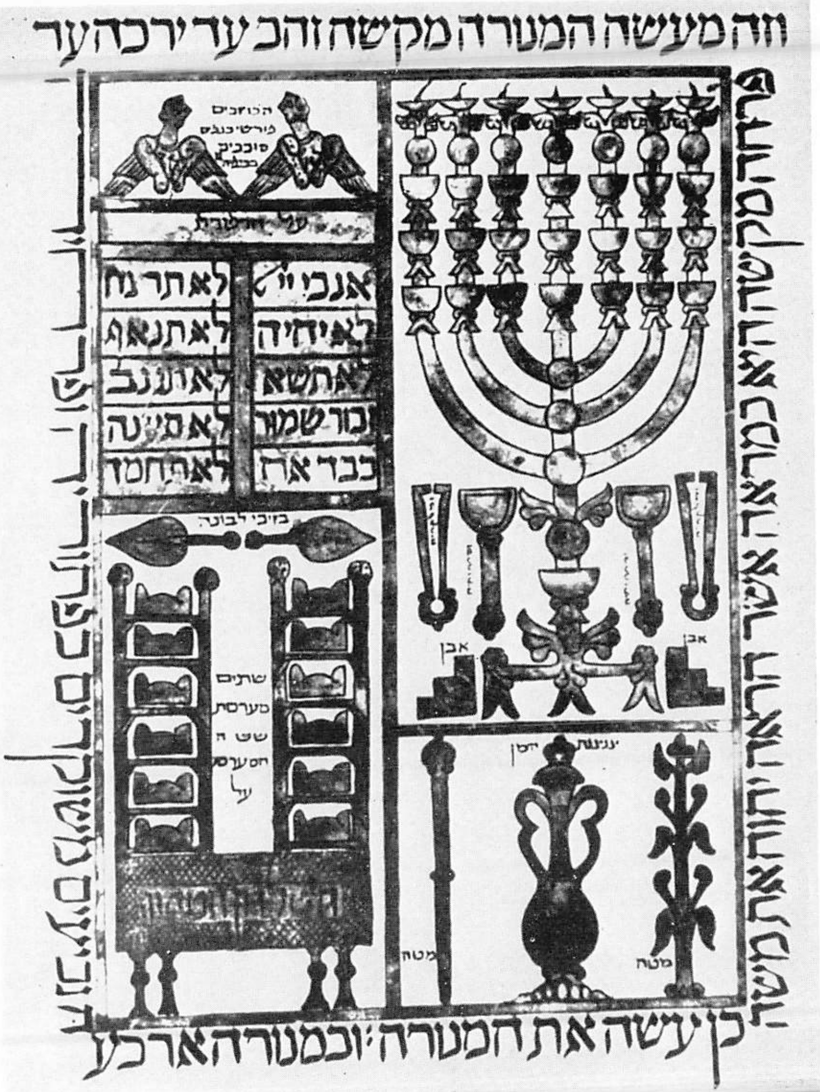
27 (p. 19)



28 (p. 19)



29 (p. 19)


וזה מעשה המנרה מקשה זהב עד ירכה עד
אנכי יי׳
לא יהיה
לא תשא
זכור שמור
כבד את
לא תרצח
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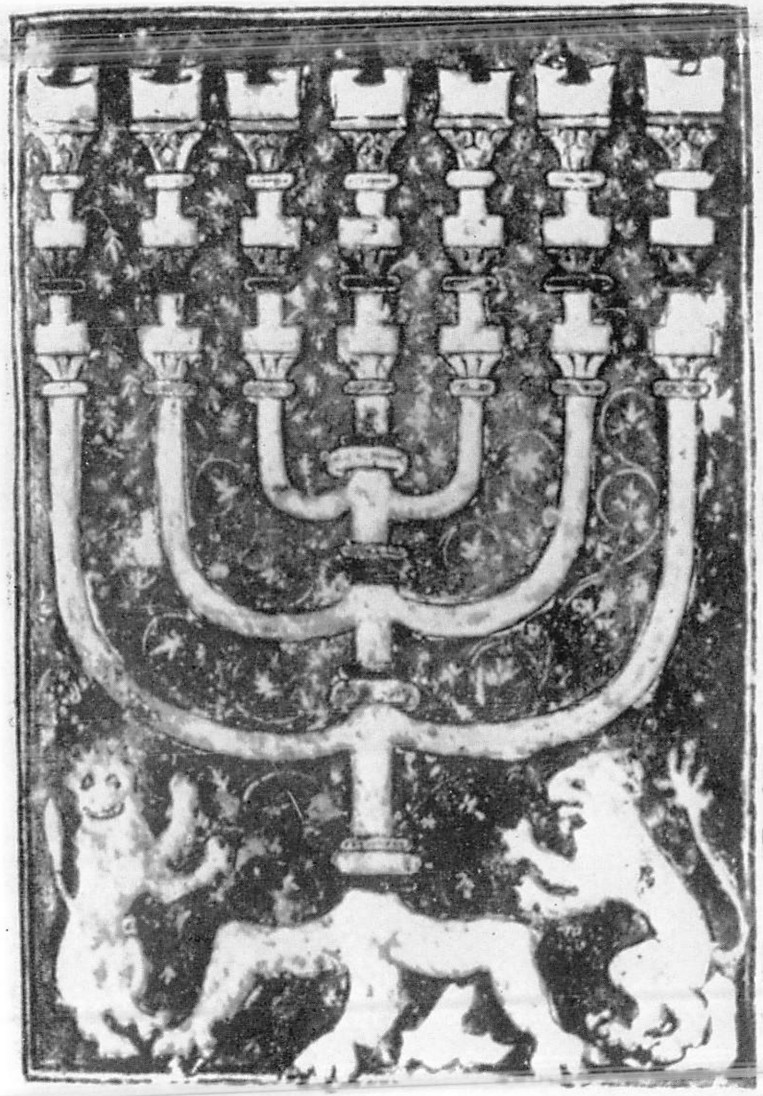
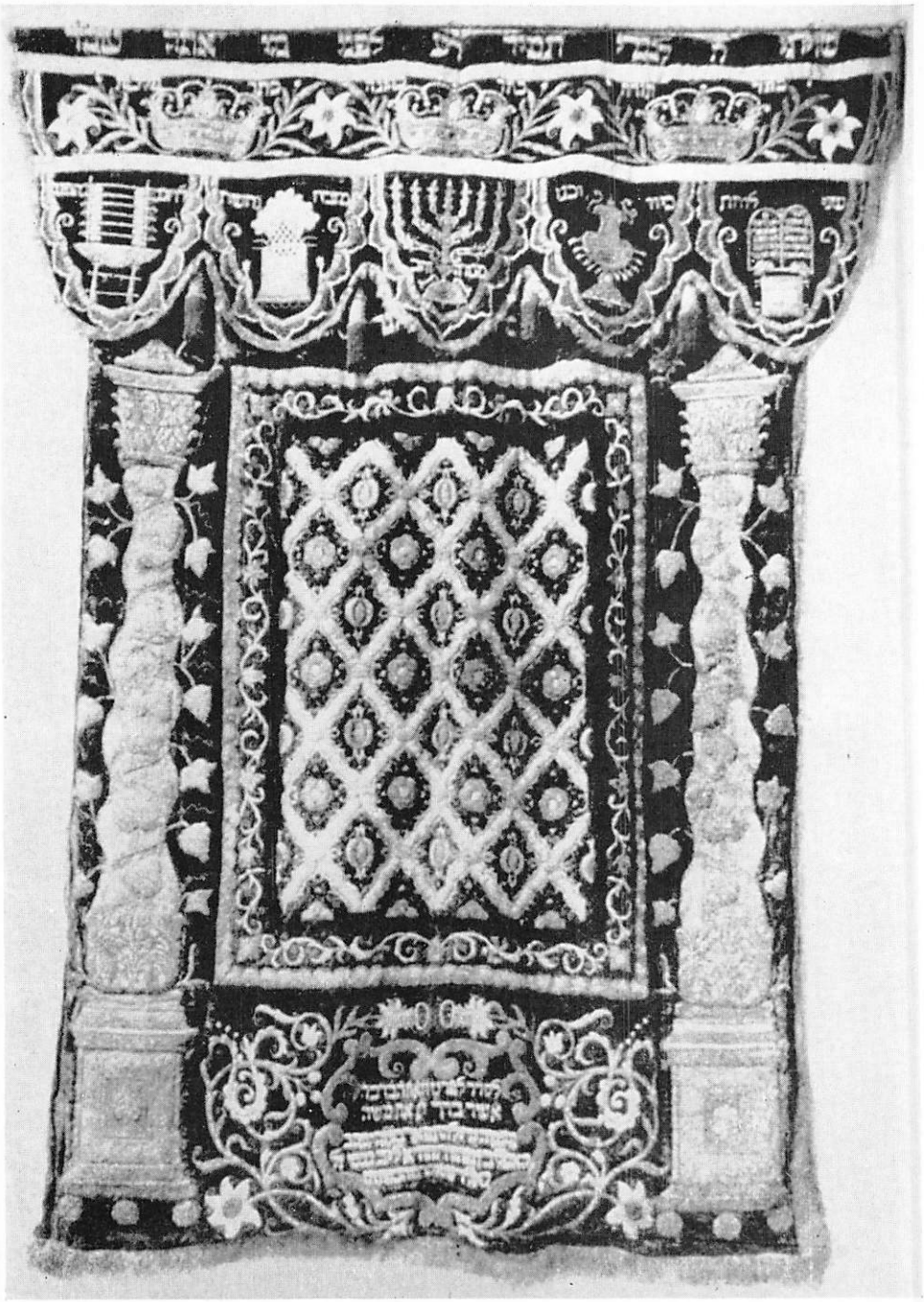
לא תגנב
לא תענה
לא תחמד
כן עשה את המנרה

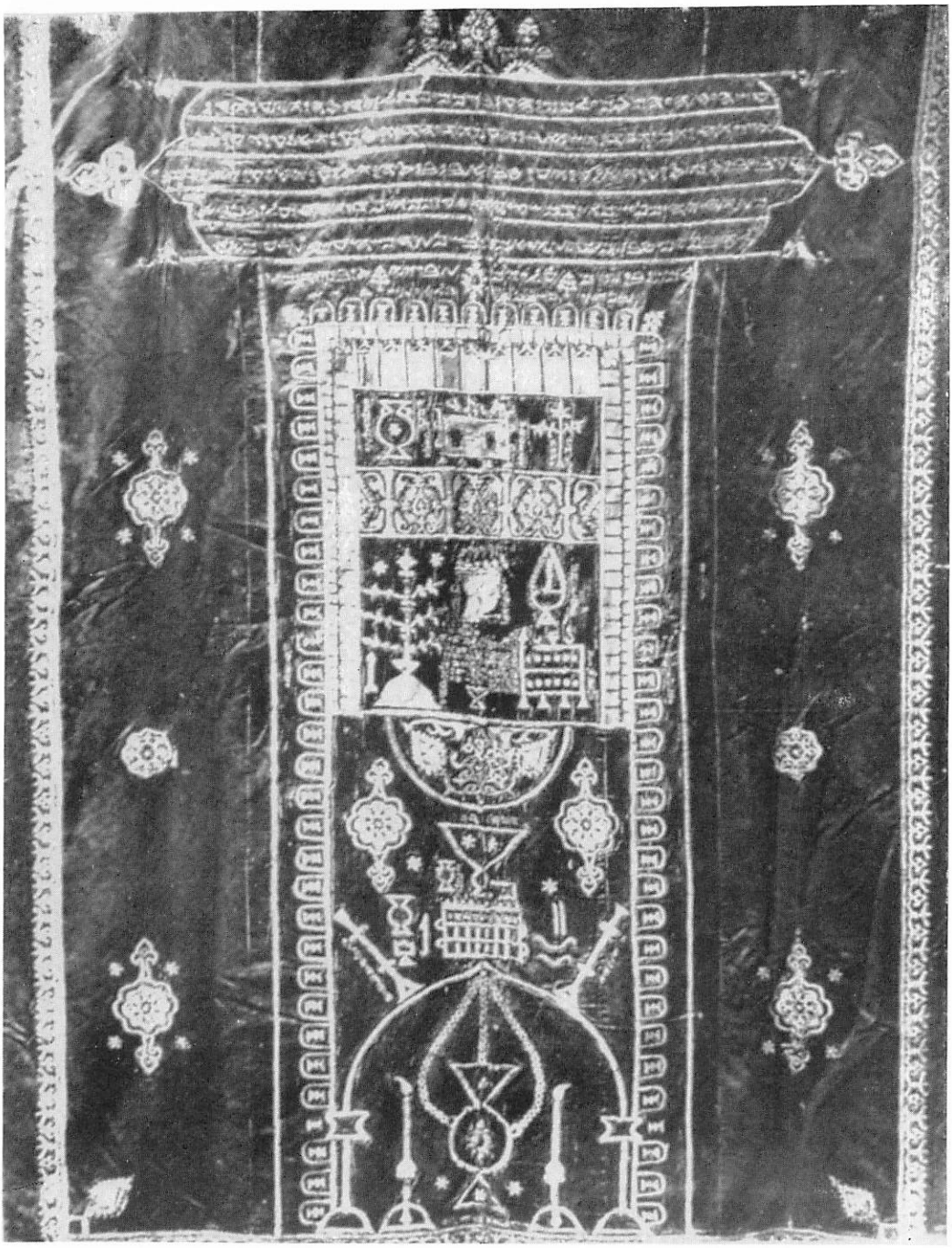


32 (p. 19)

33 (p. 19)



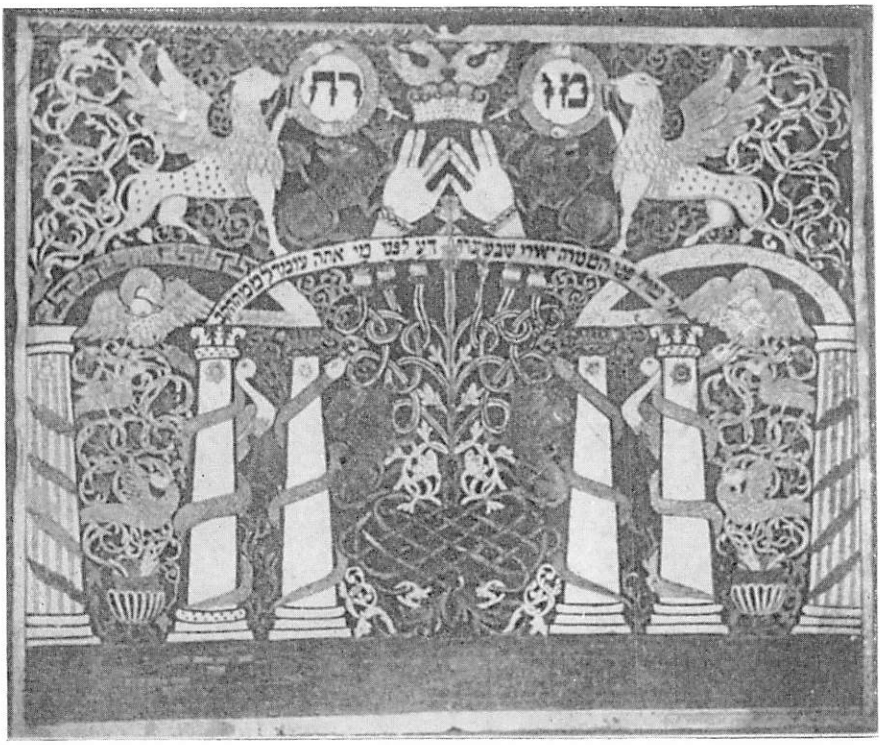
34 (p. 19)



35 (p. 19)

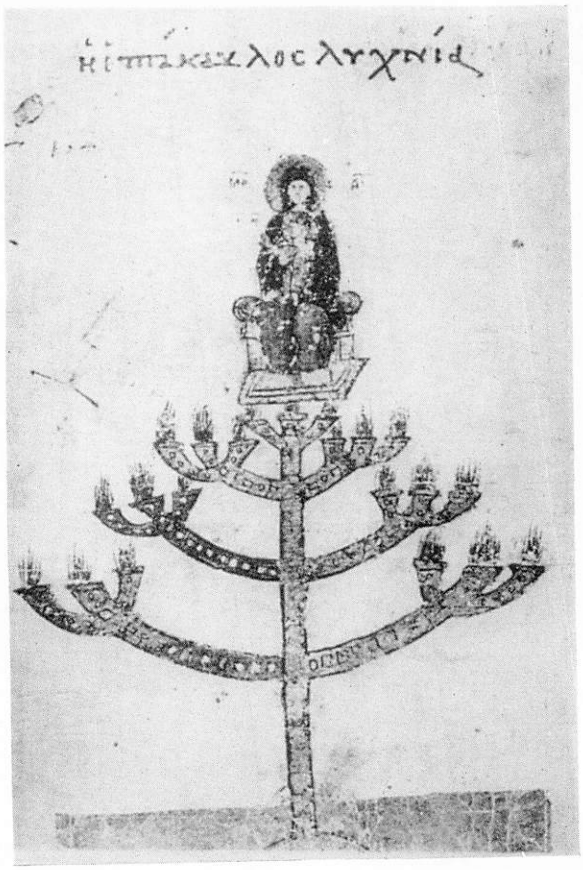
36 (p. 19)

37 (p. 19)

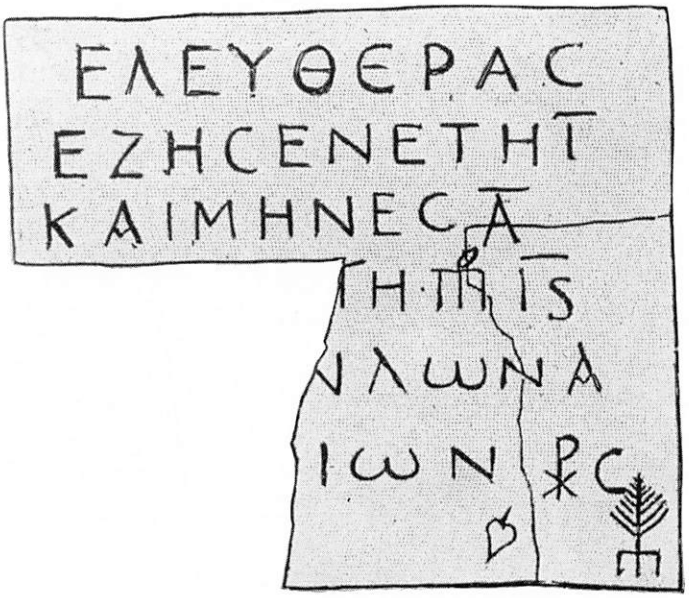


38 (p. 19)

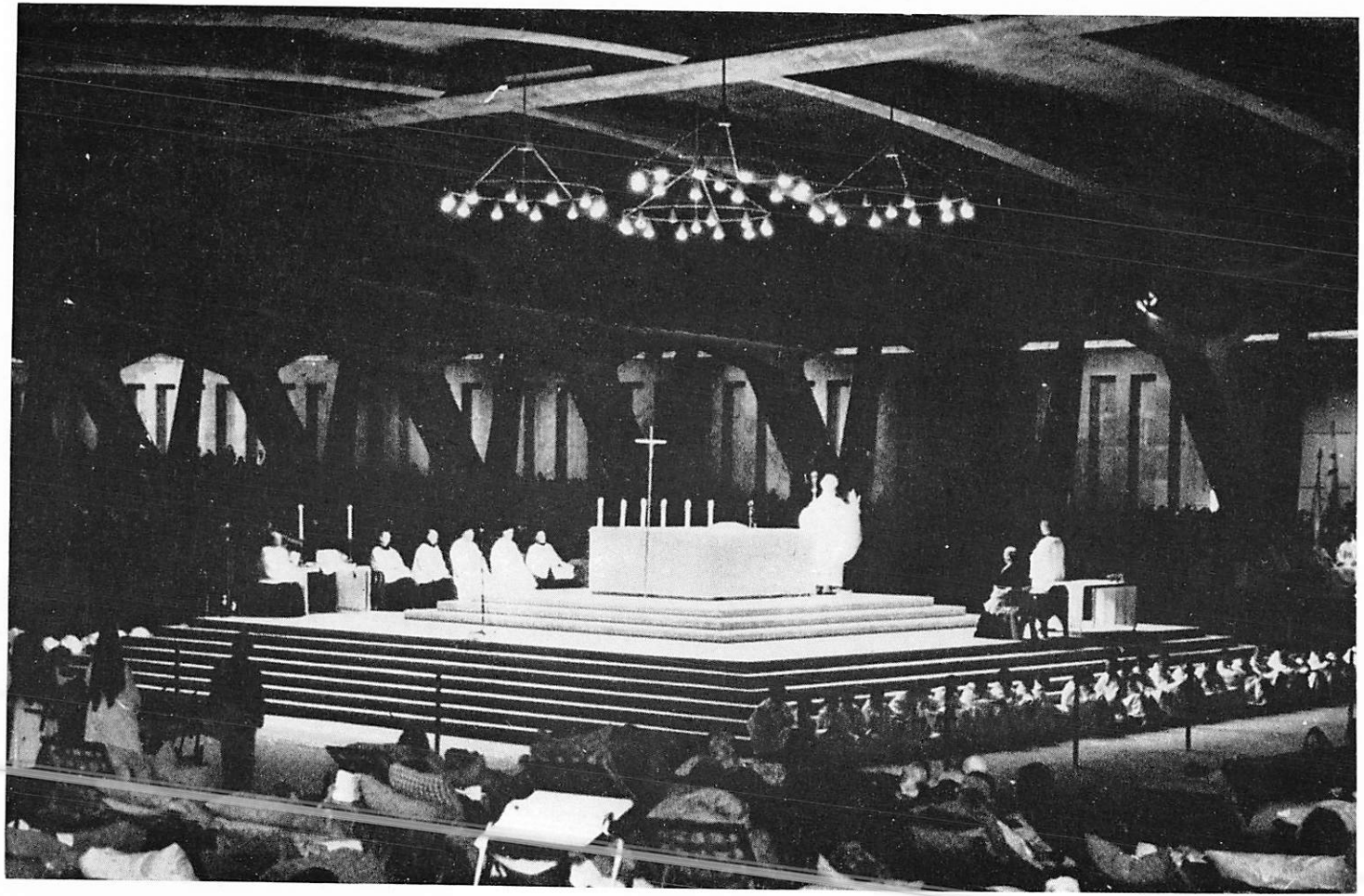
39 (p. 20)



40 (p. 20)

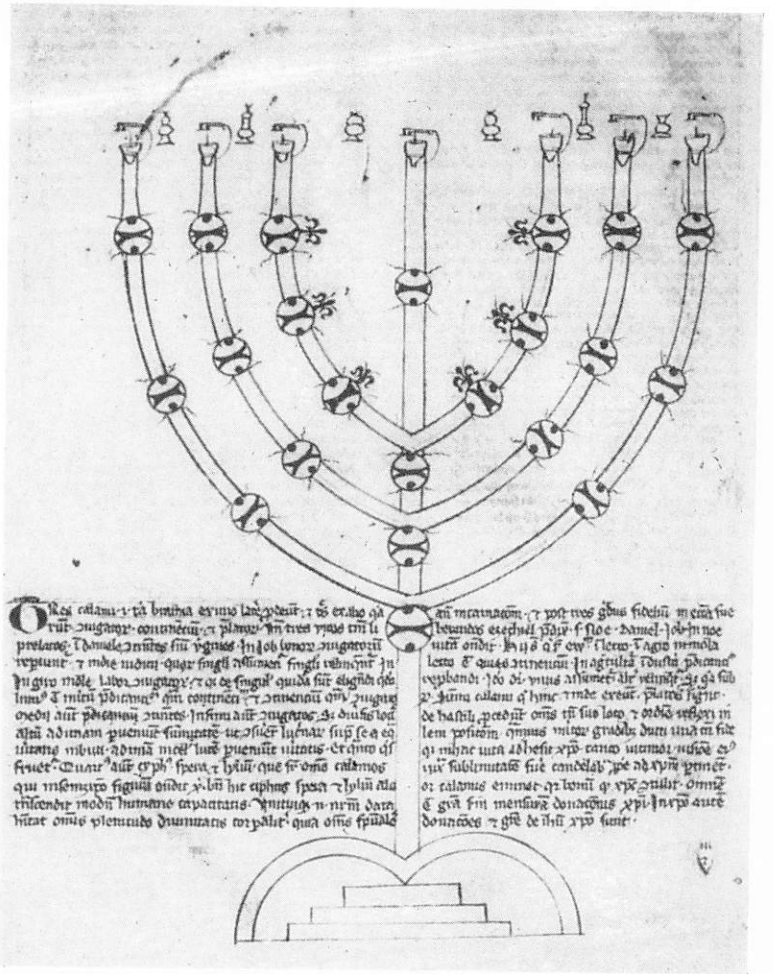


41 (p. 20)



42 (p. 20)

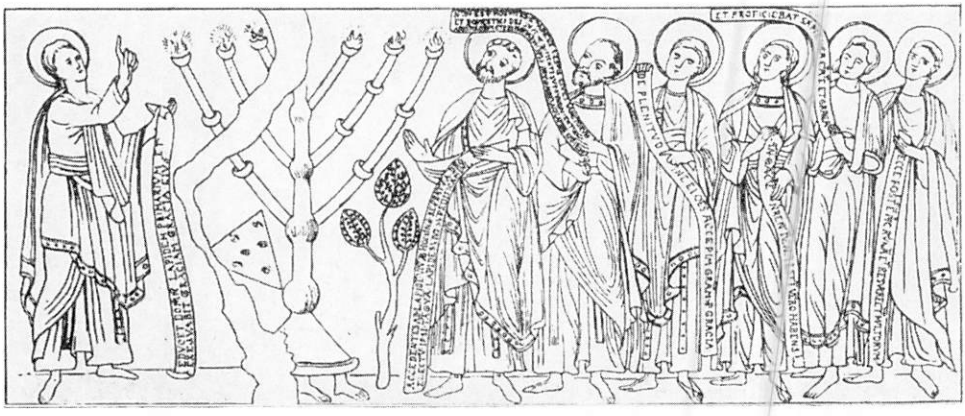
43 (pp. 20, 24)



44 (p. 20)

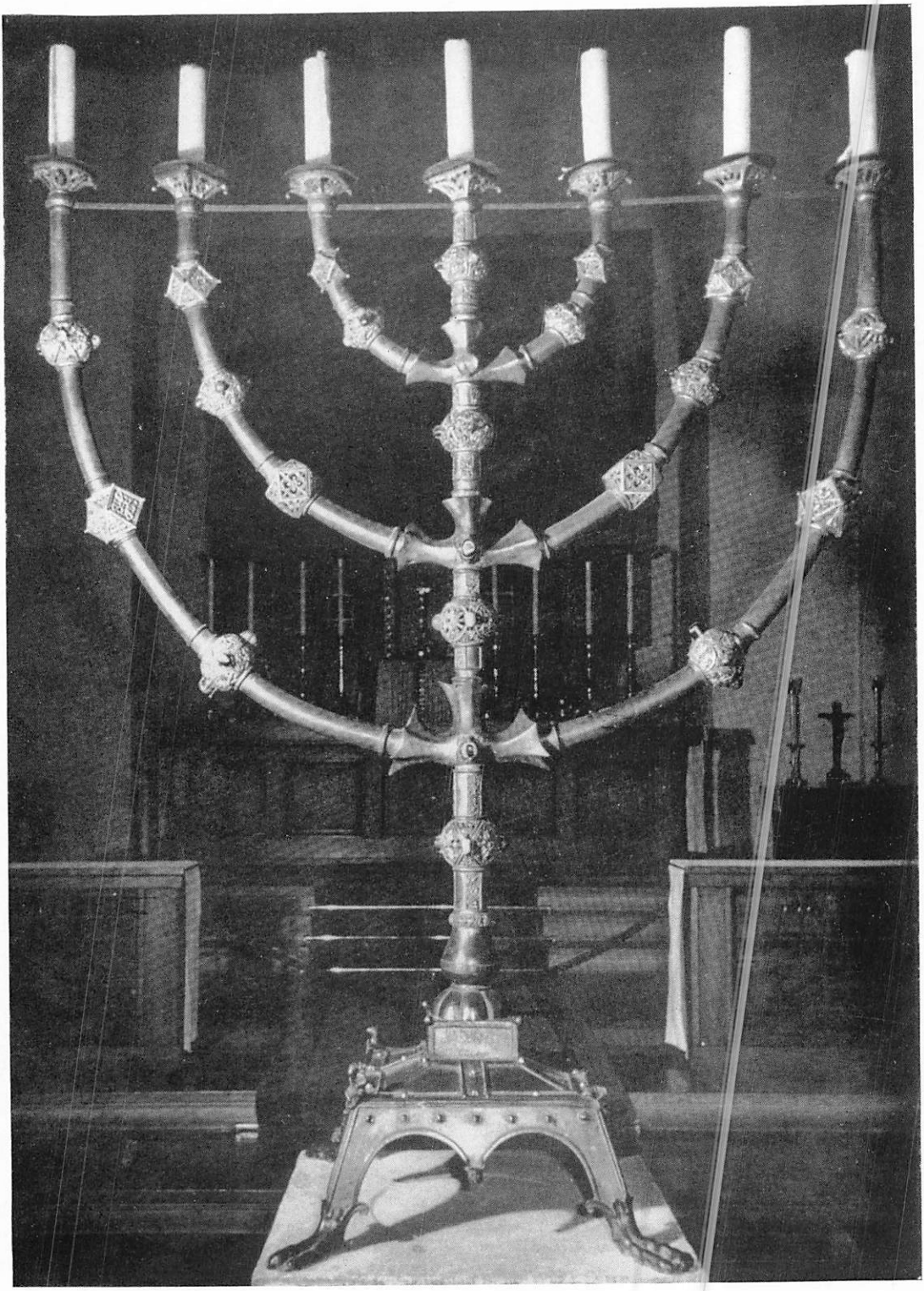
45 (p. 20)

46 (p. 20)

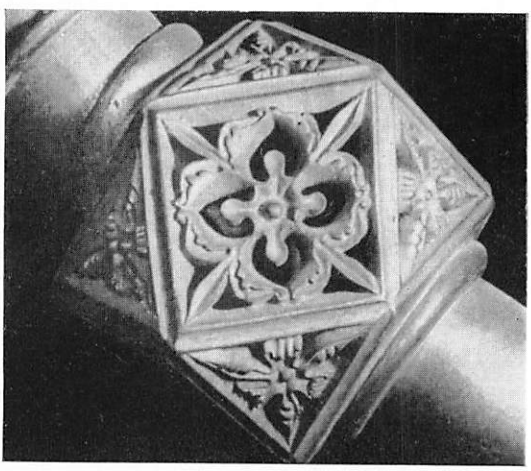


47 (p. 20)

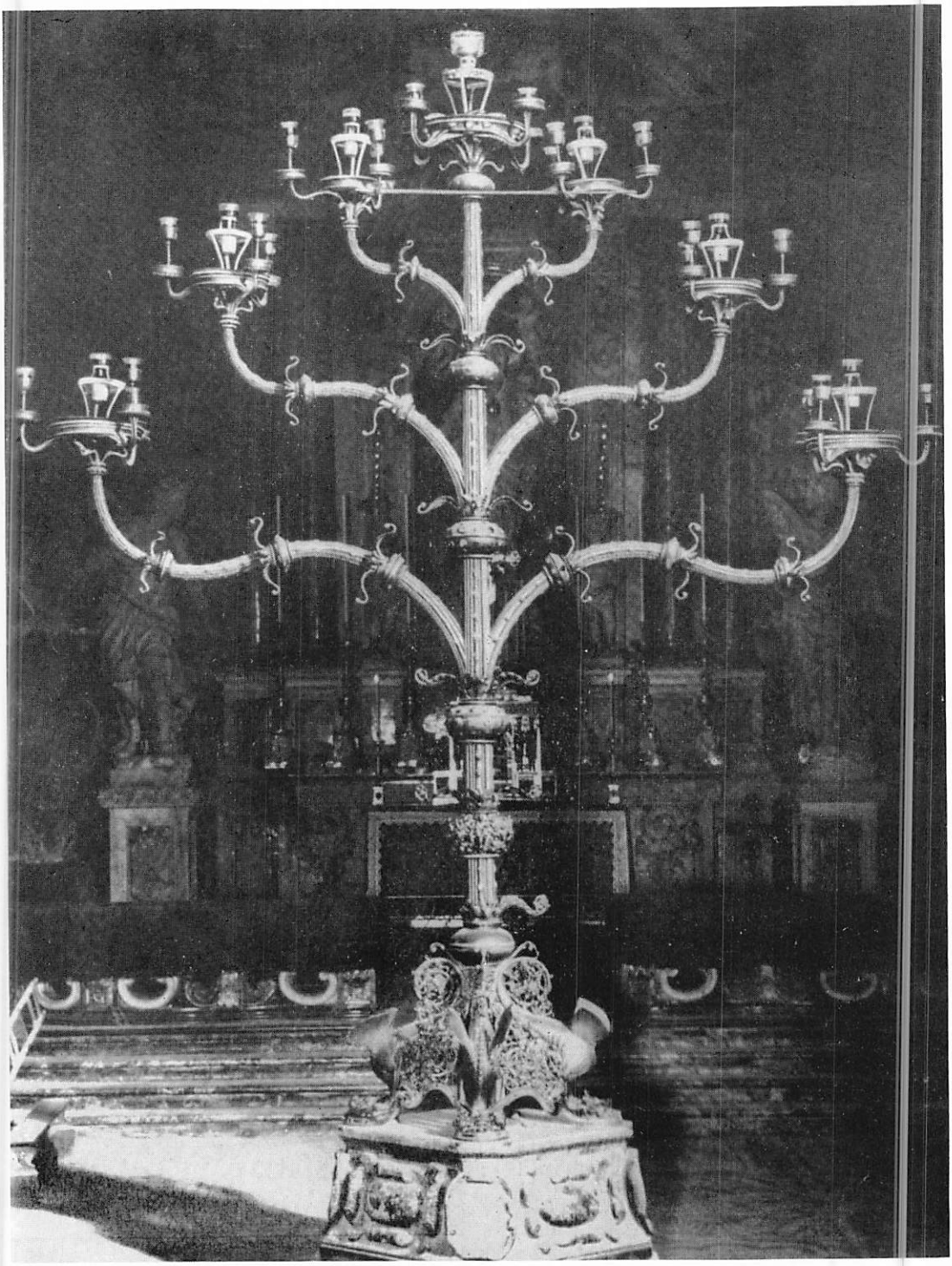
48 (p. 20)



49 (p. 20)

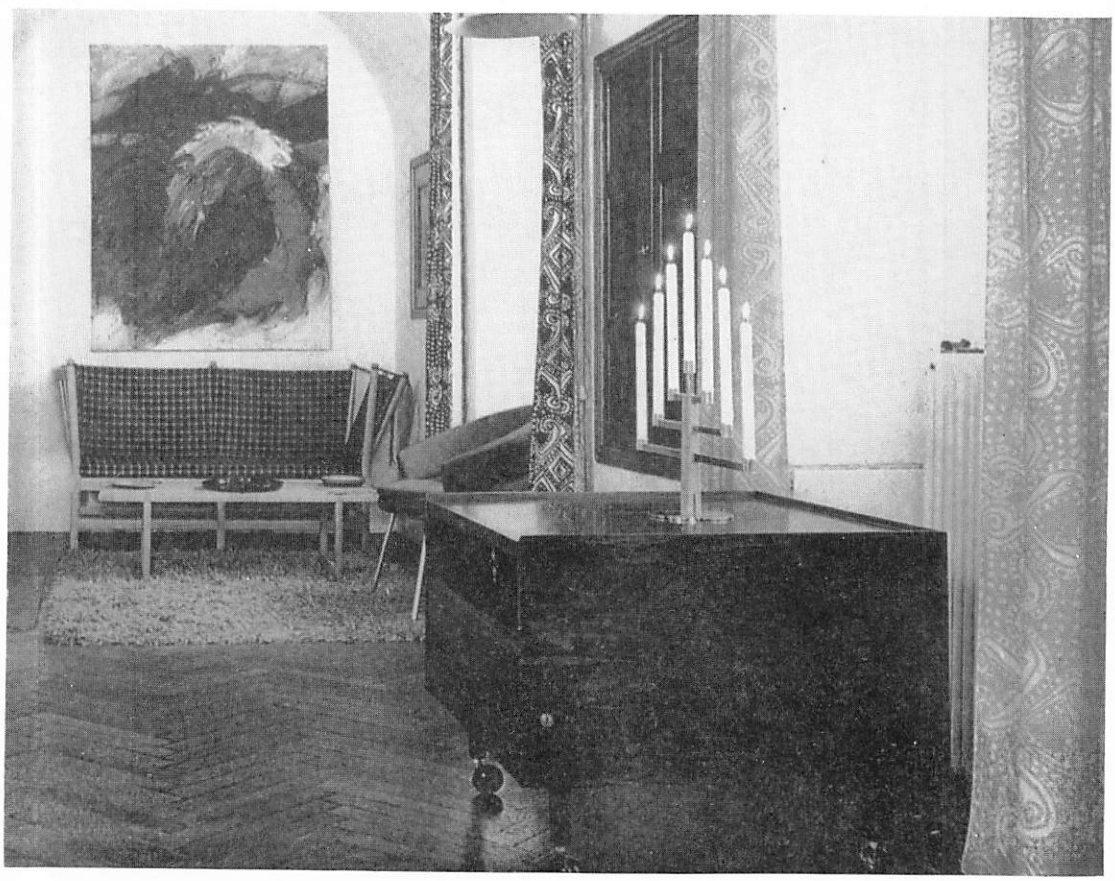


50-52 (p. 20)



53 (p. 20)

54 (p. 21)

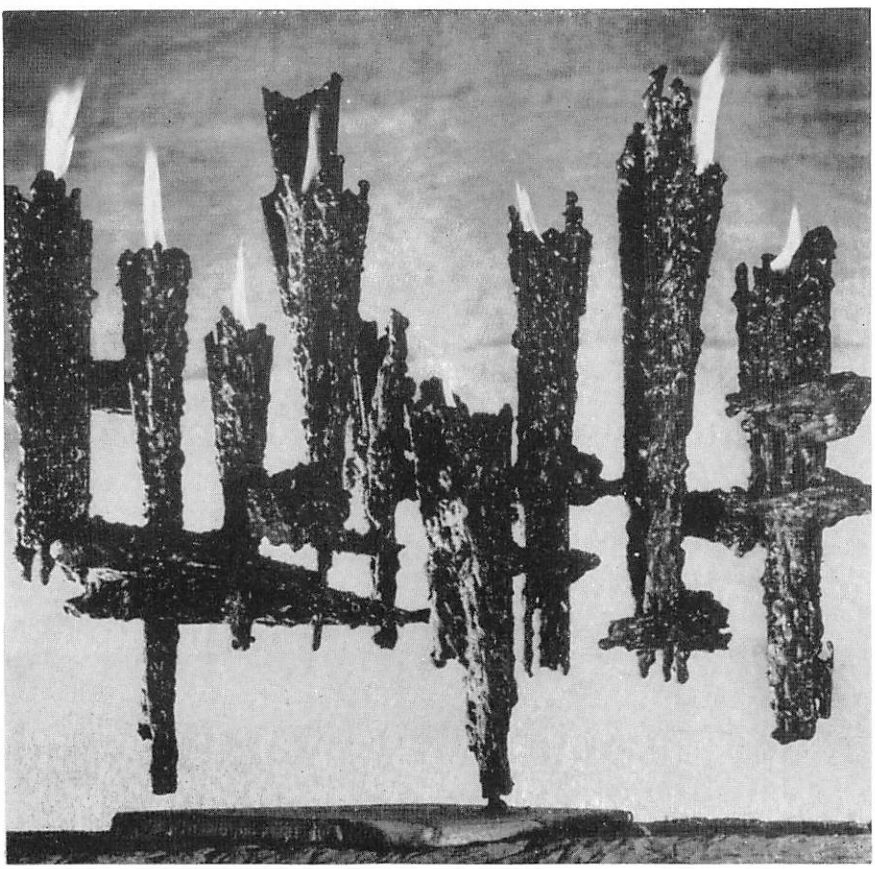


55 (p. 21)

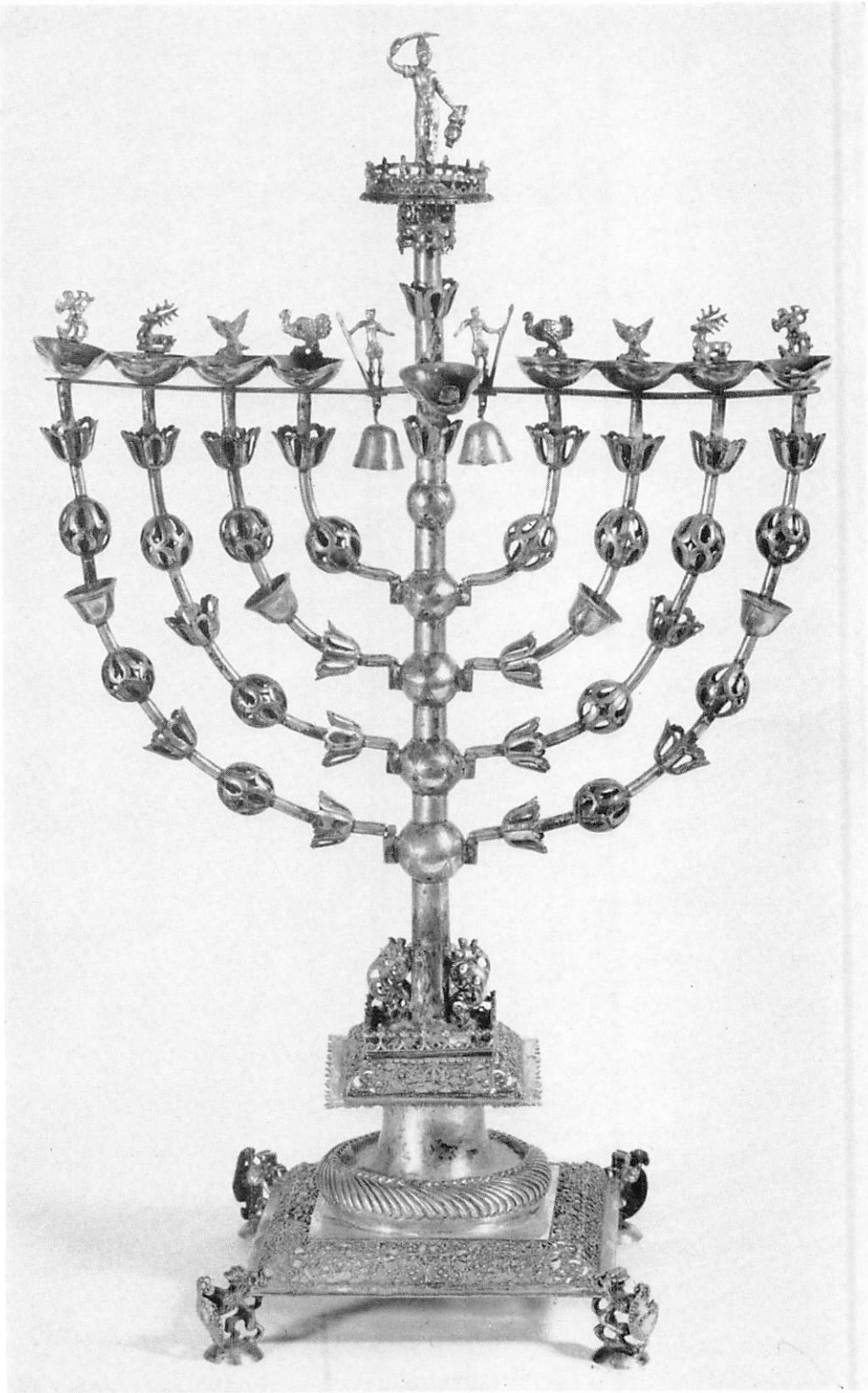
56 (p. 22)

57 (p. 22)

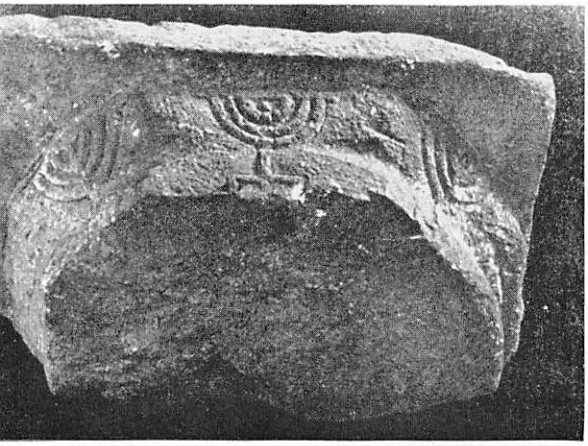
58 (p. 22)



59 (p. 22)



60 (p. 22)

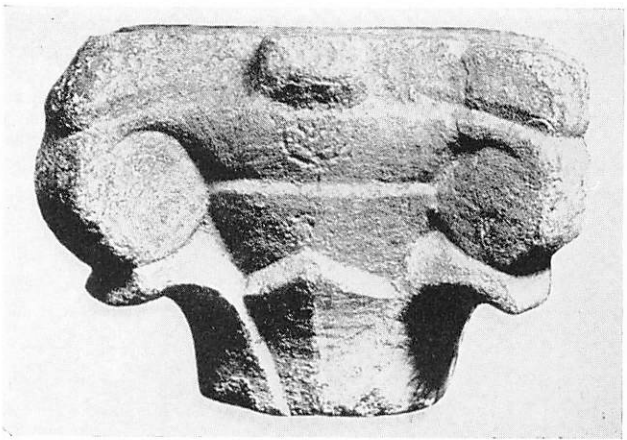


1 (p. 23)

62 (p. 23)

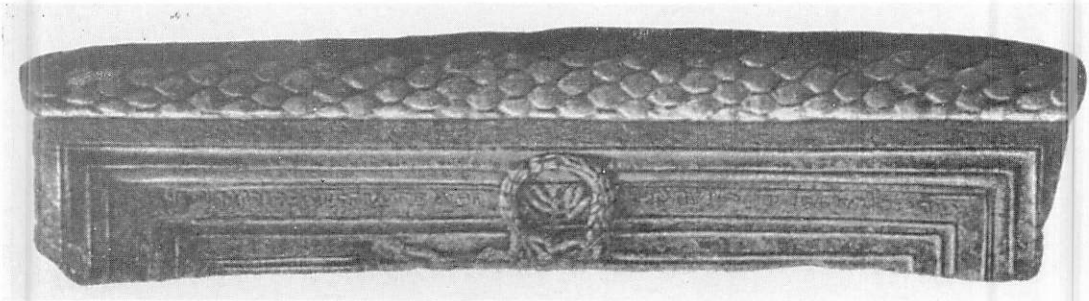
63 (p. 23)

64 (p. 23)

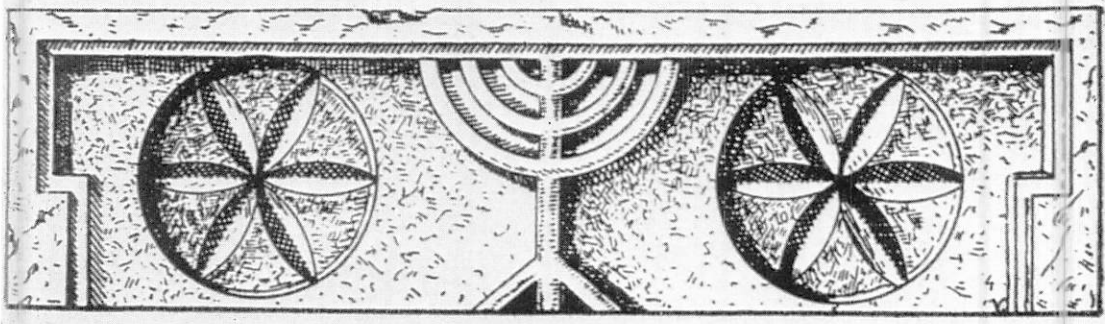


65 (p. 23)

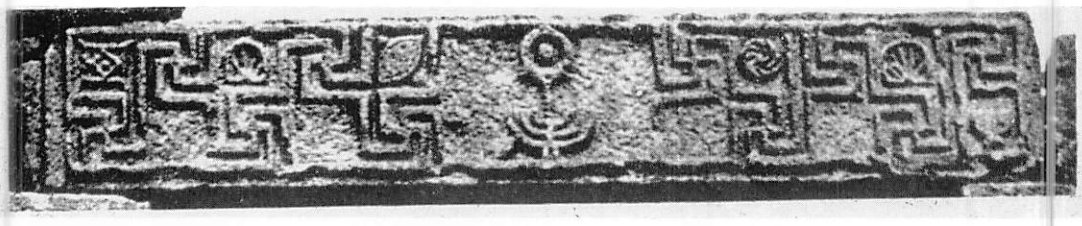
66 (p. 23)



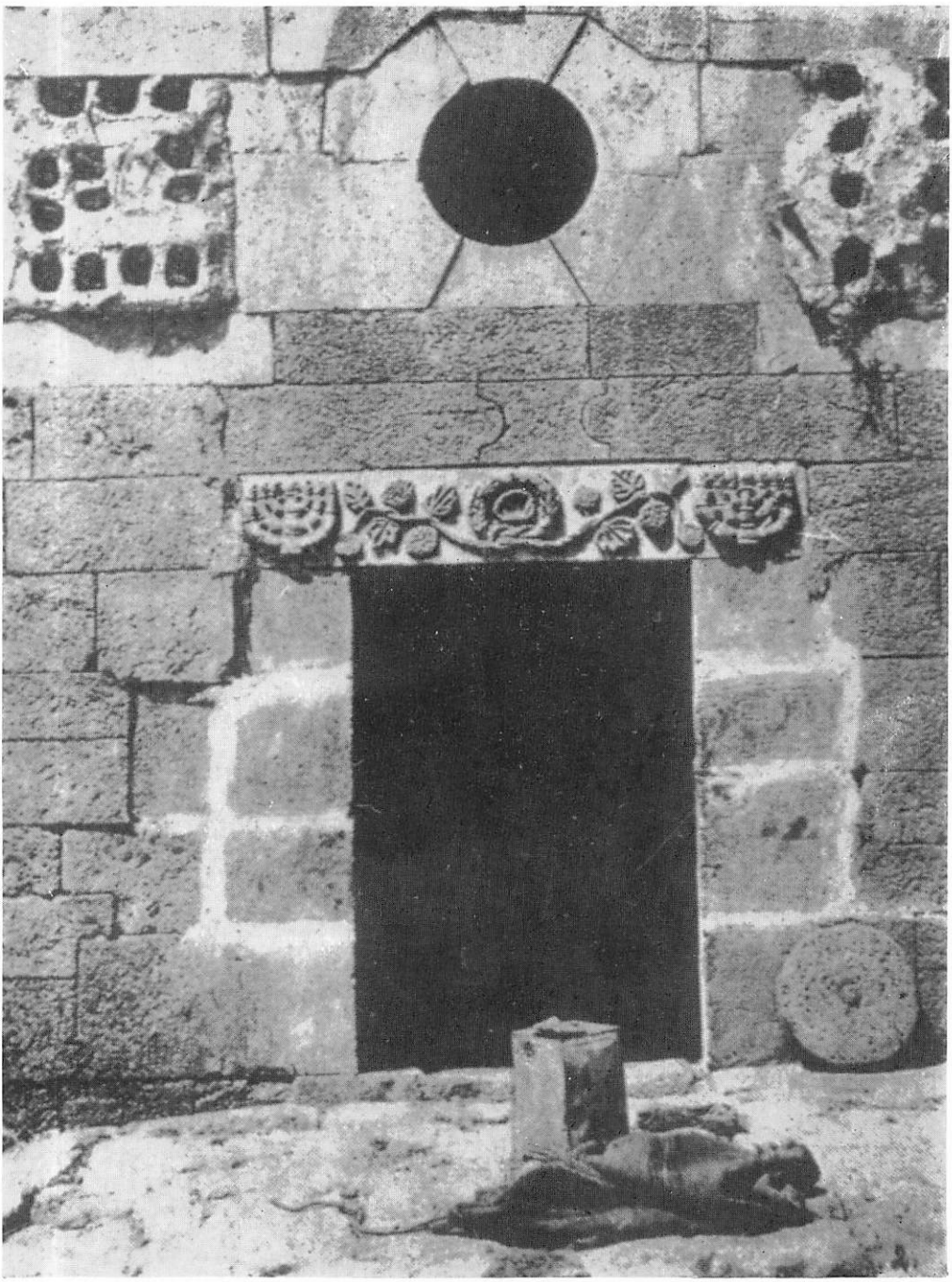
67 (p. 24)



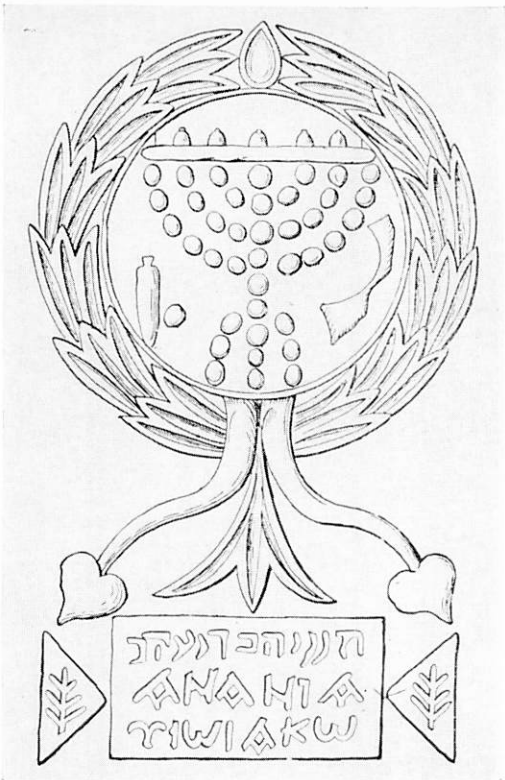
68 (p. 24)



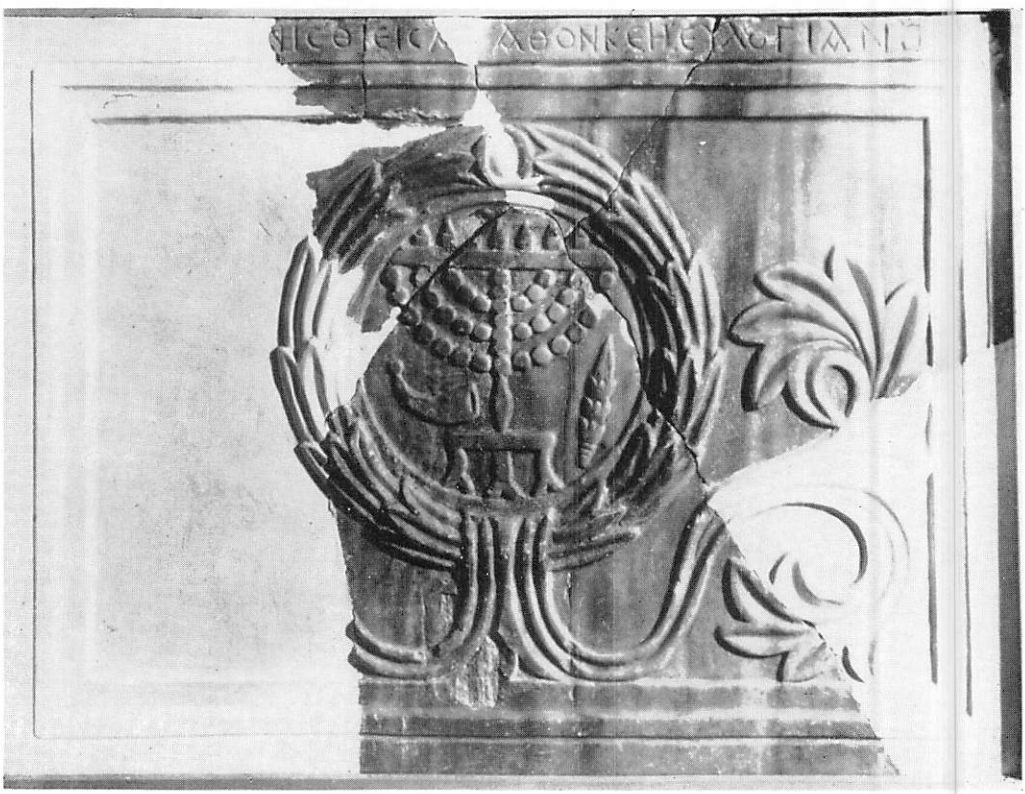
69 (pp. 24, 27)



70 (p. 24)



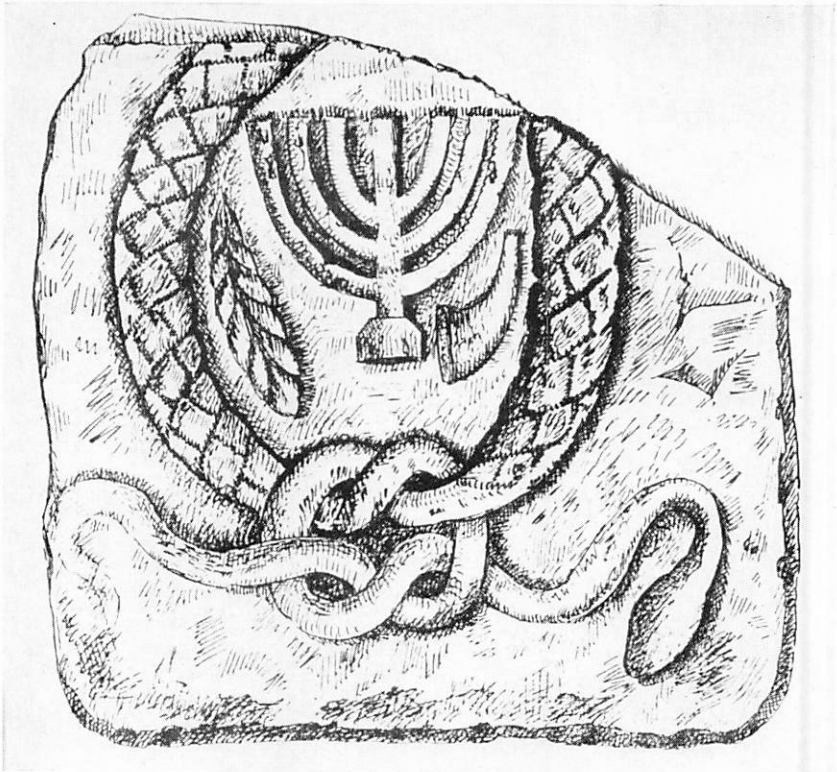
71 (p. 24)



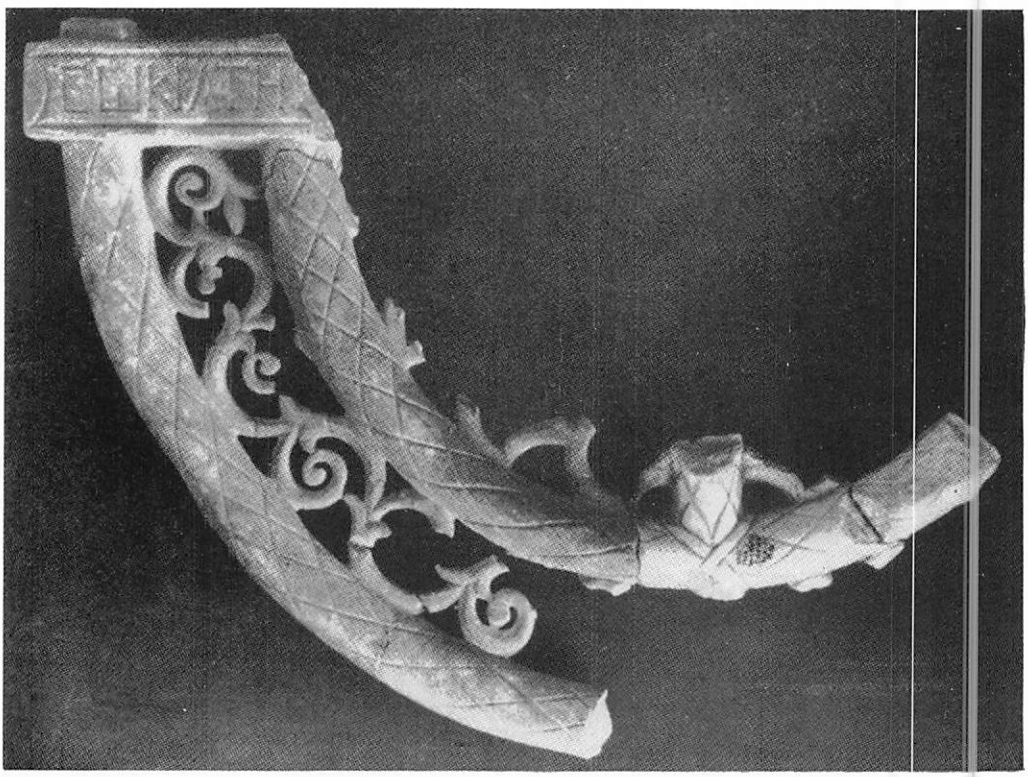
72 (p. 24)

73 (p. 24)

74 (p. 24)



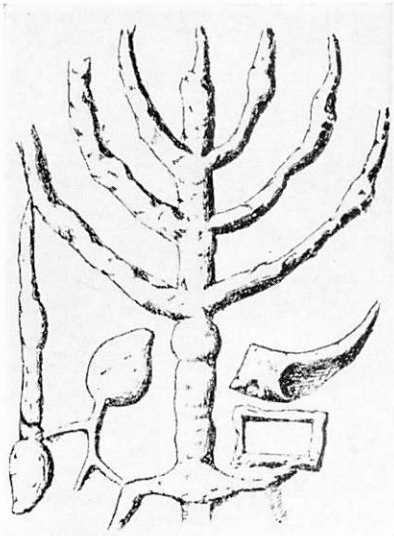
75 (p. 24)



76 (p. 21)

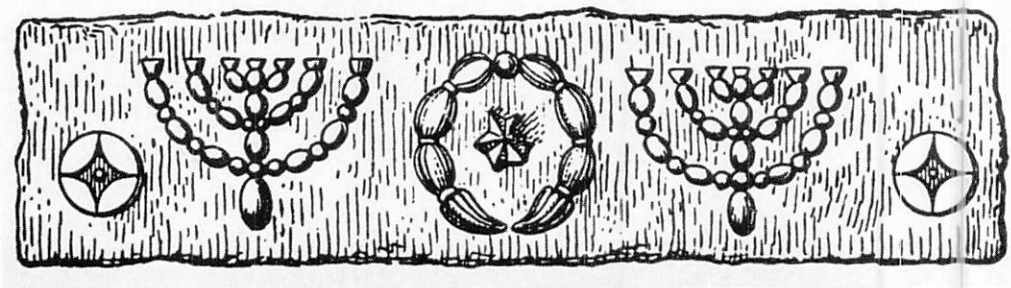
77 (p. 21)

78 (p. 24)

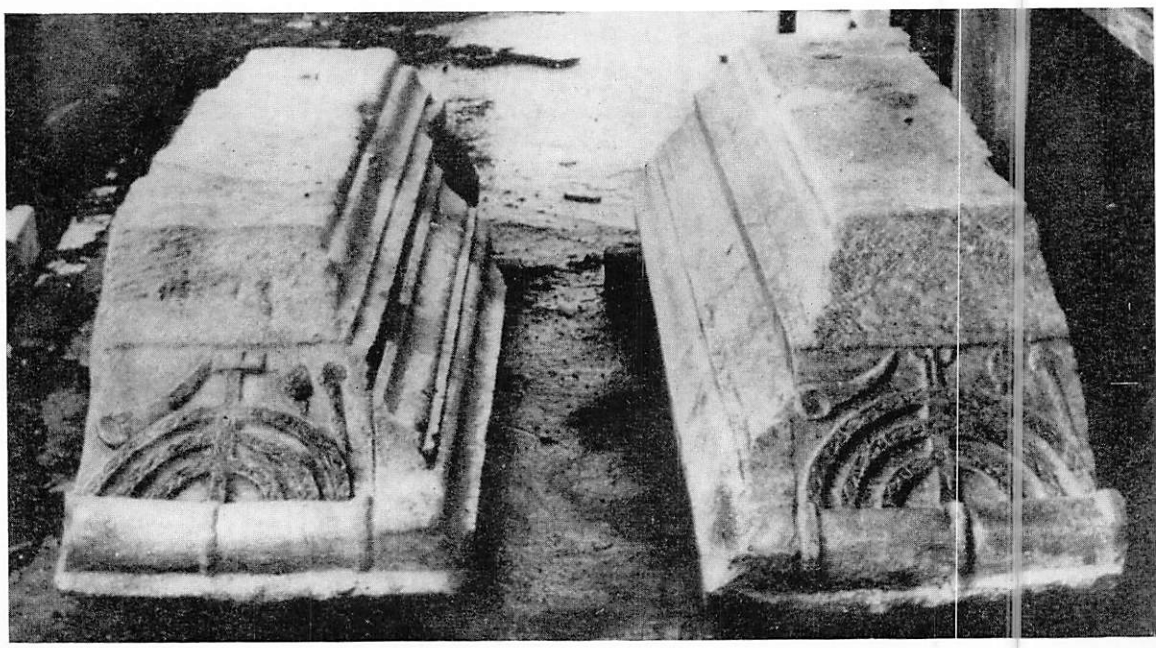


79 (p. 24)

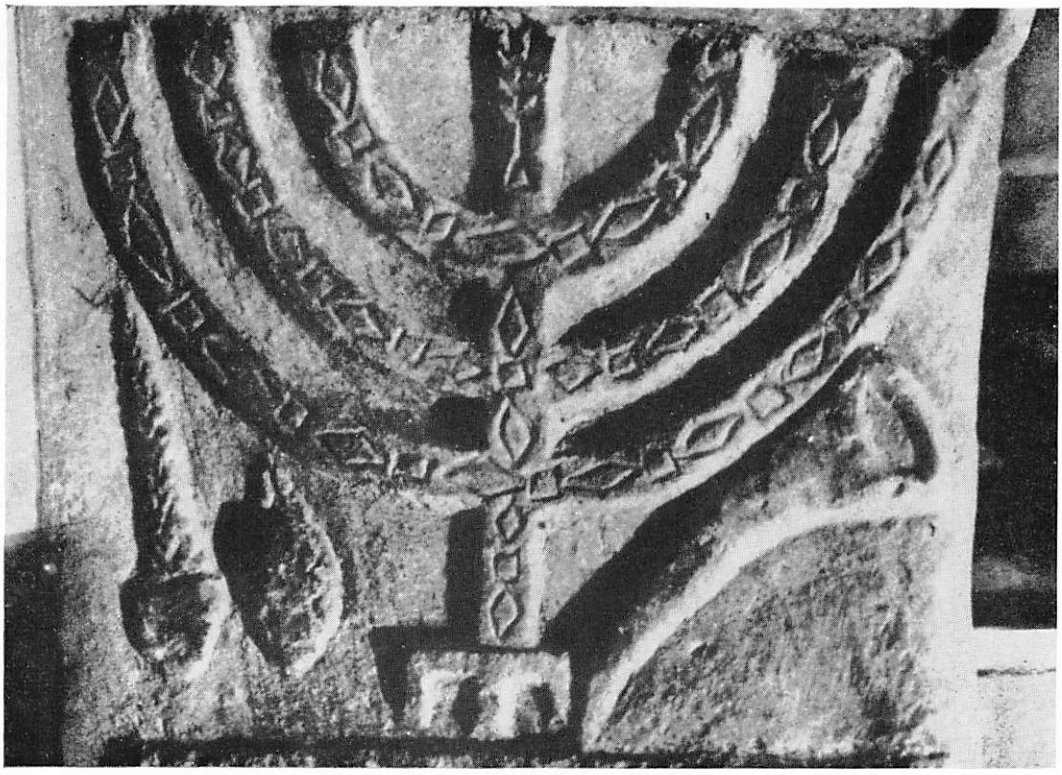
80 (p. 24)



81 (p. 24)



82 (p. 24)



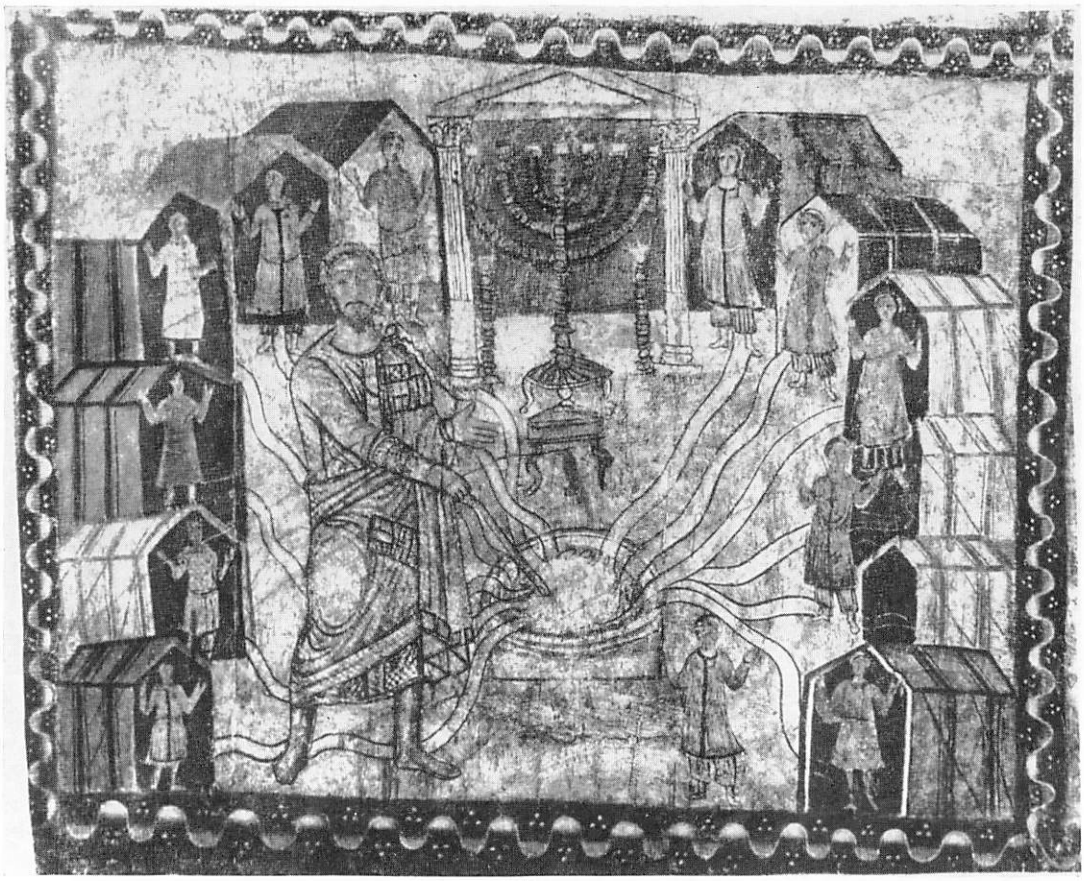
83 (p. 24)

84-85 (p. 24)

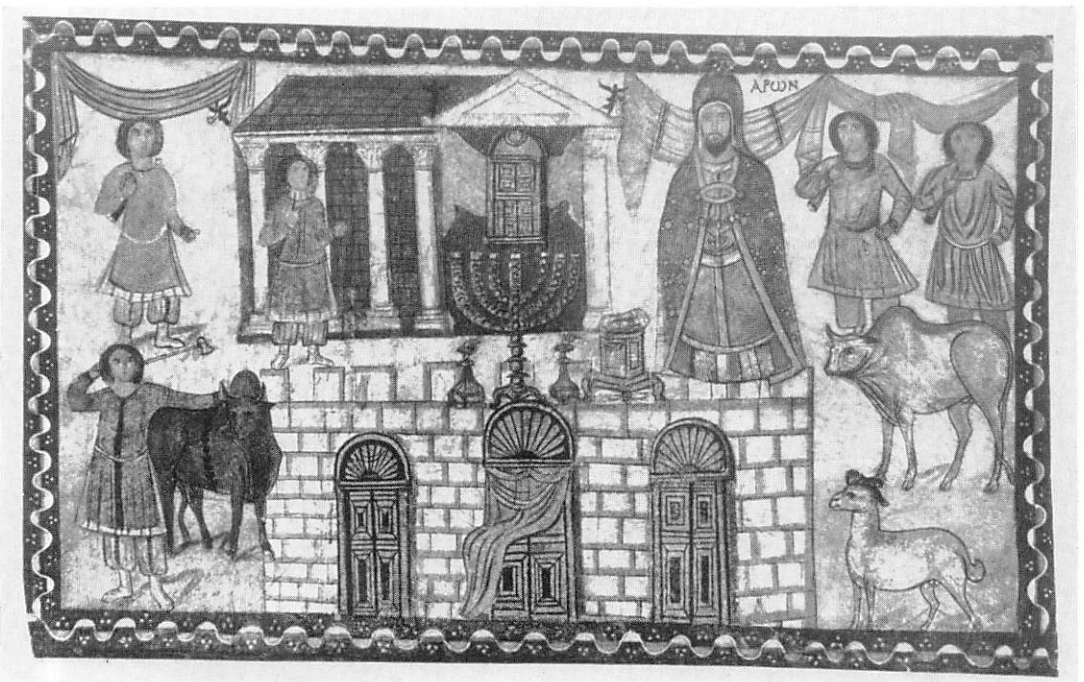
86 (p. 24)

87 (p. 24)

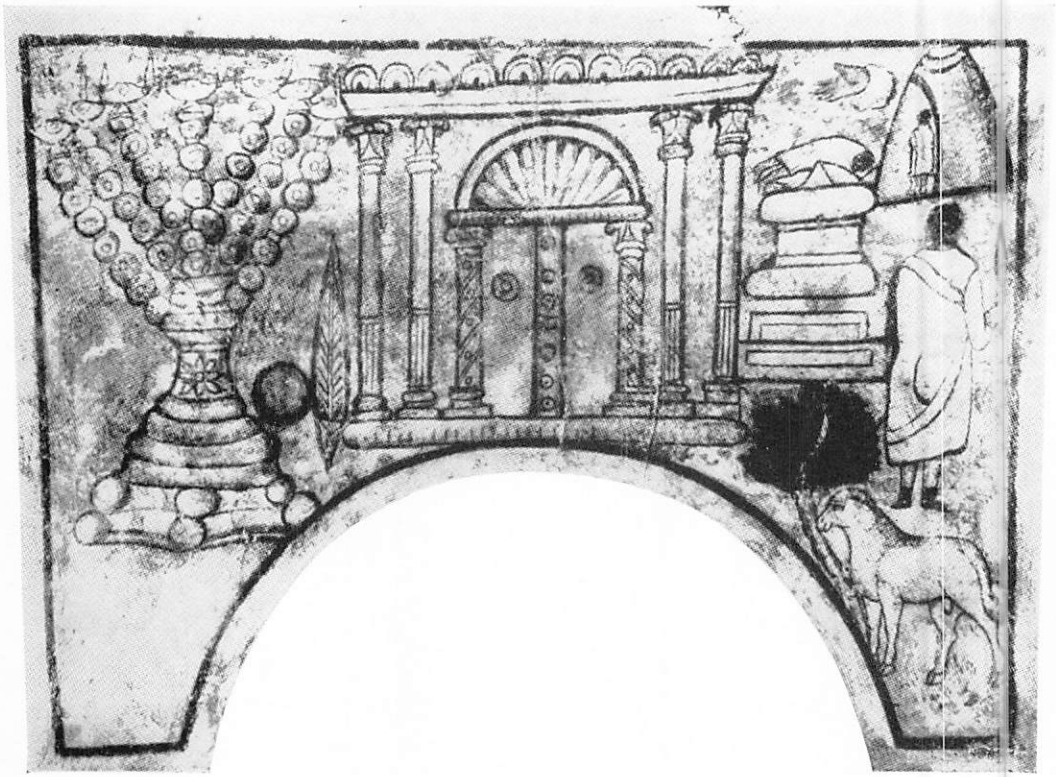
88 (p. 24)



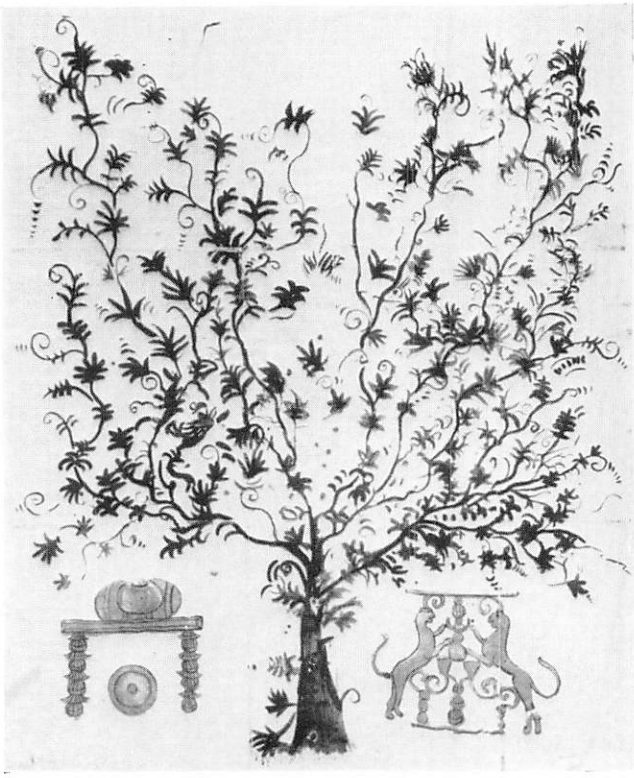
89 (p. 24)



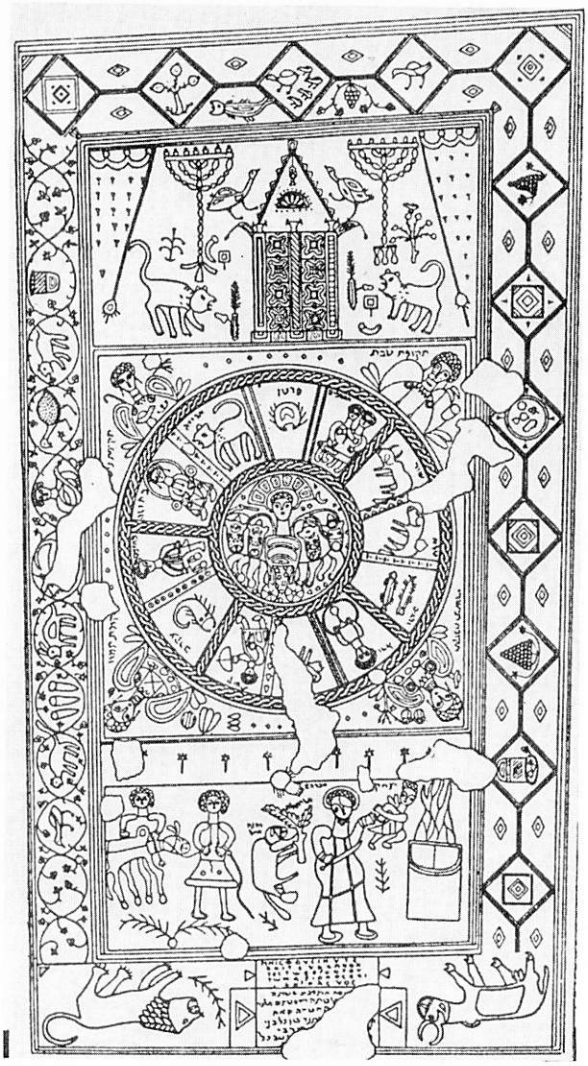
90 (p. 24)



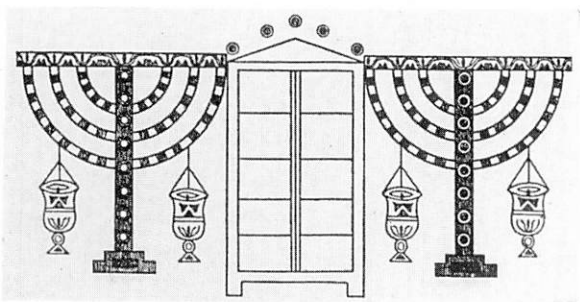
91 (pp. 24, 28)



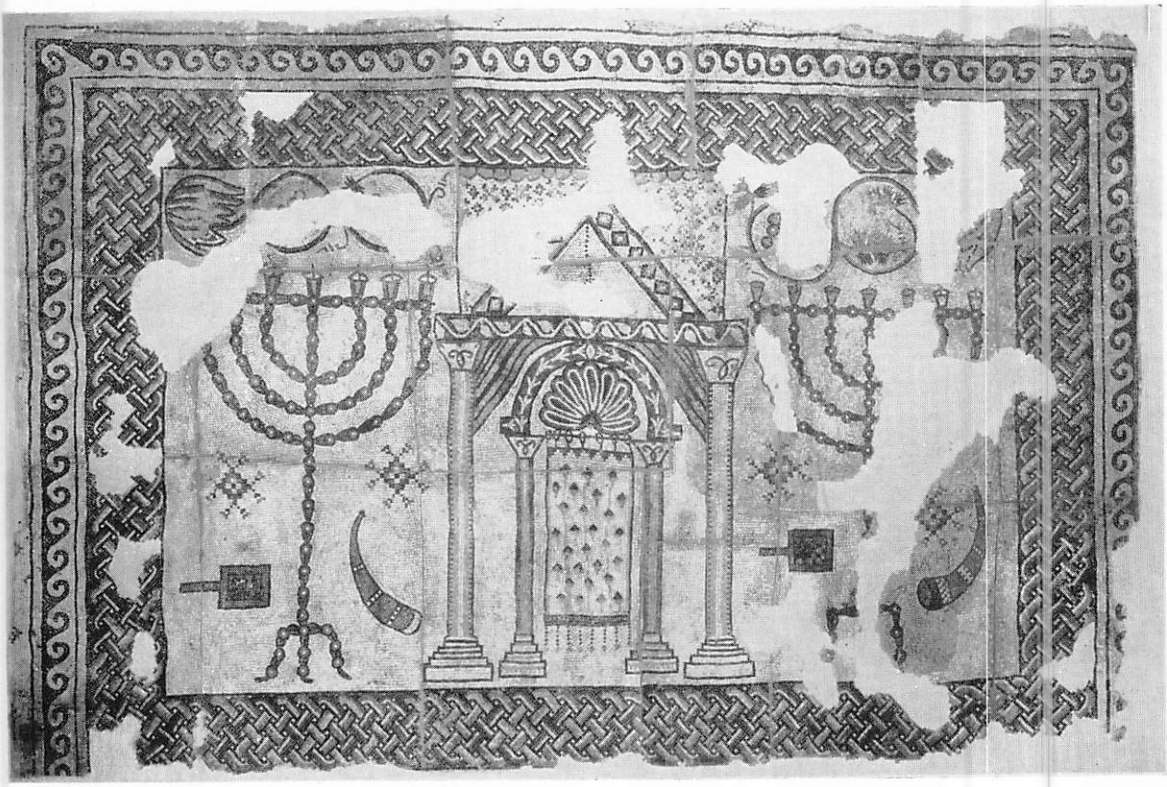
92 (p. 24)



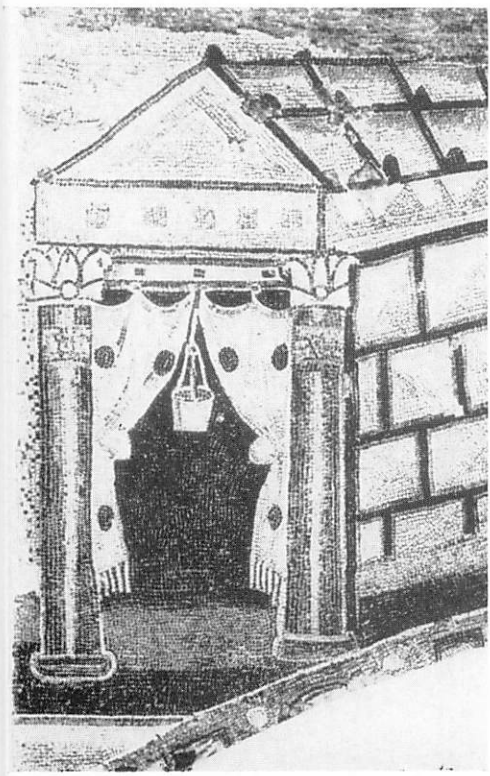
93 (p. 24)



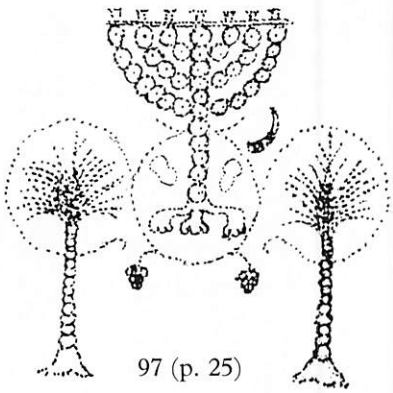
94 (p. 25)



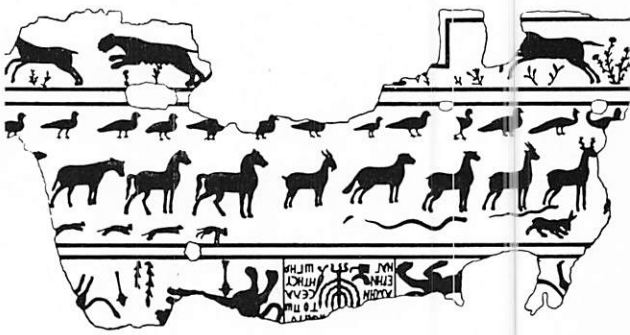
95 (p. 25)



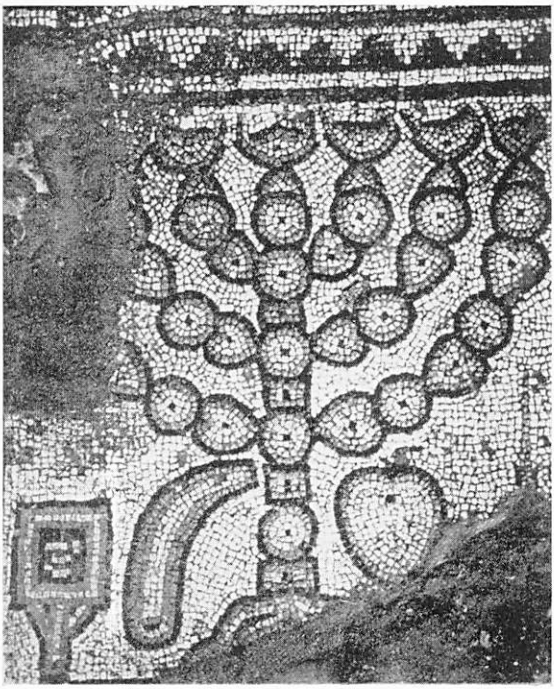
96 (p. 25)



97 (p. 25)



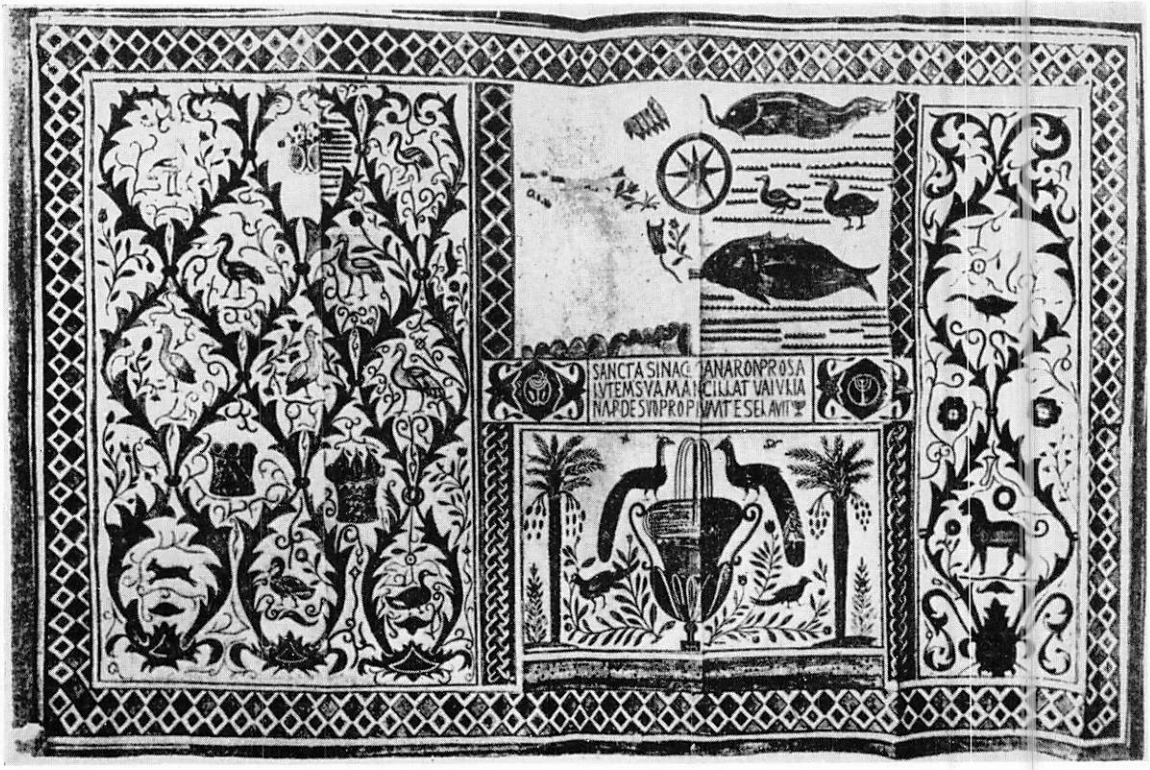
98 (p. 25)



99 (p. 25)

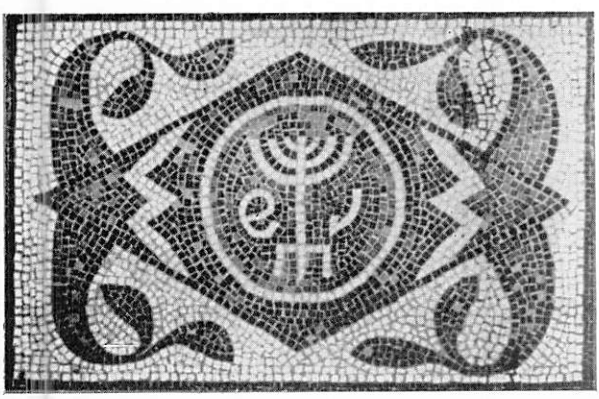
100 (p. 25)

101 (p. 25)

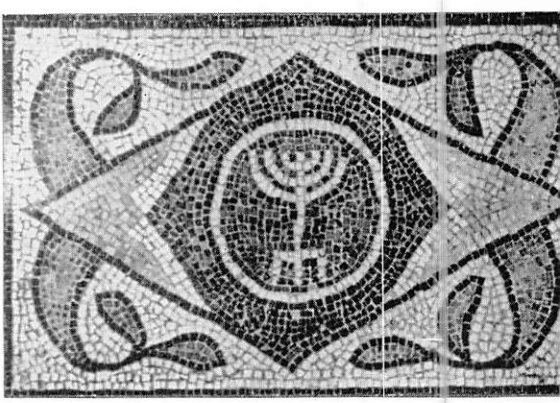


102 (p. 25)

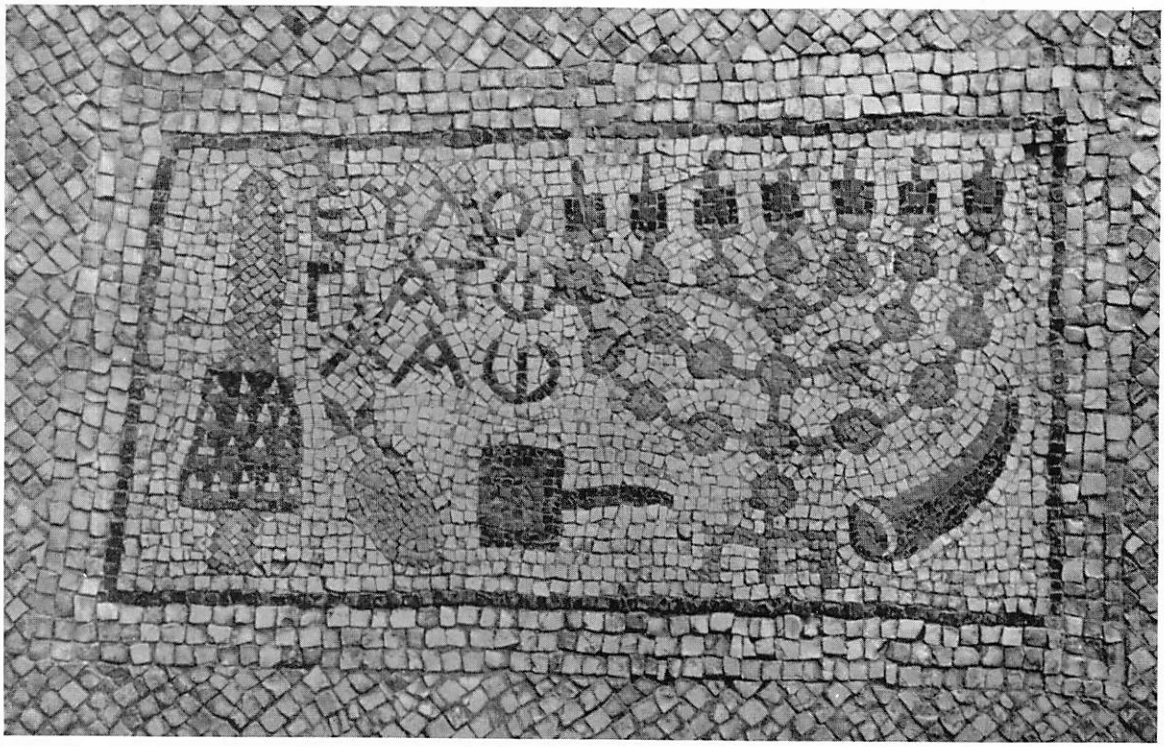
103 (p. 25)



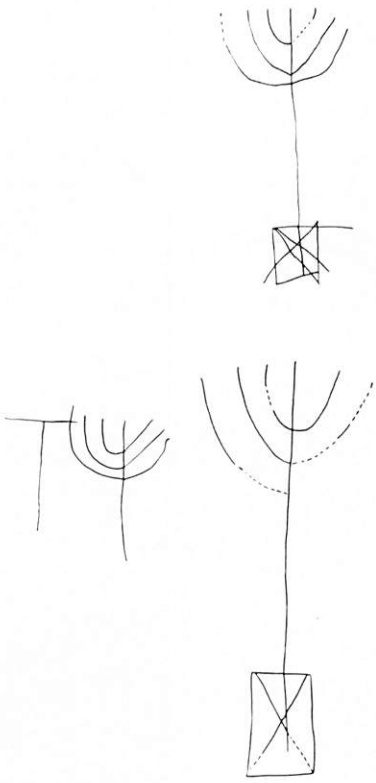
104 (p. 25)



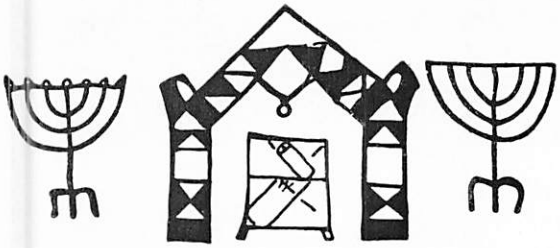
105 (p. 25)



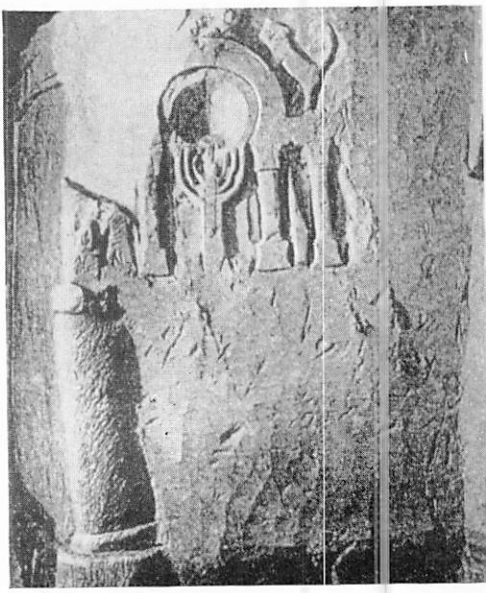
106 (p. 28)



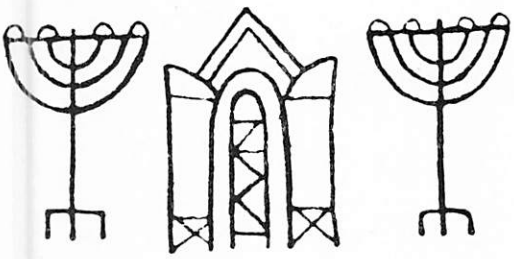
107-108 (pp. 11, 17)



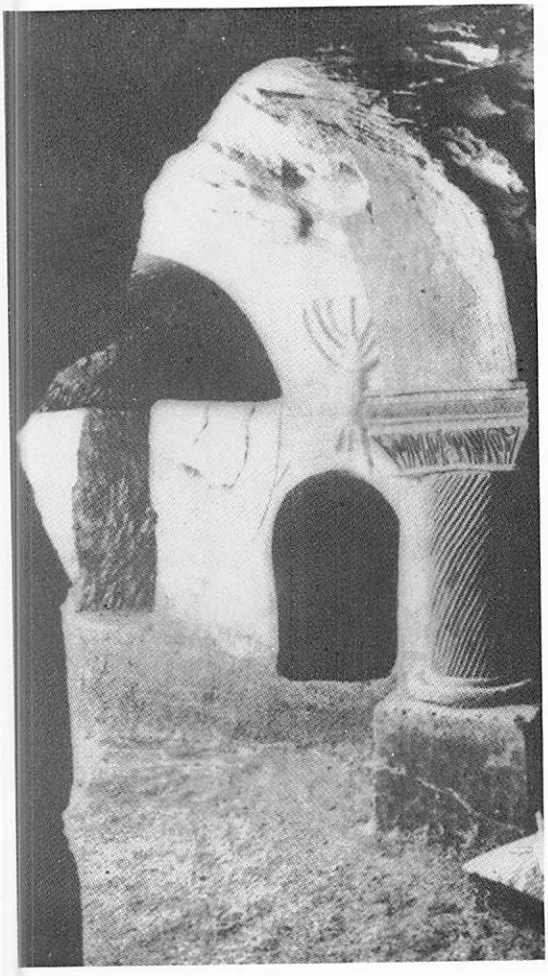
109 (p. 26)



111 (p. 26)



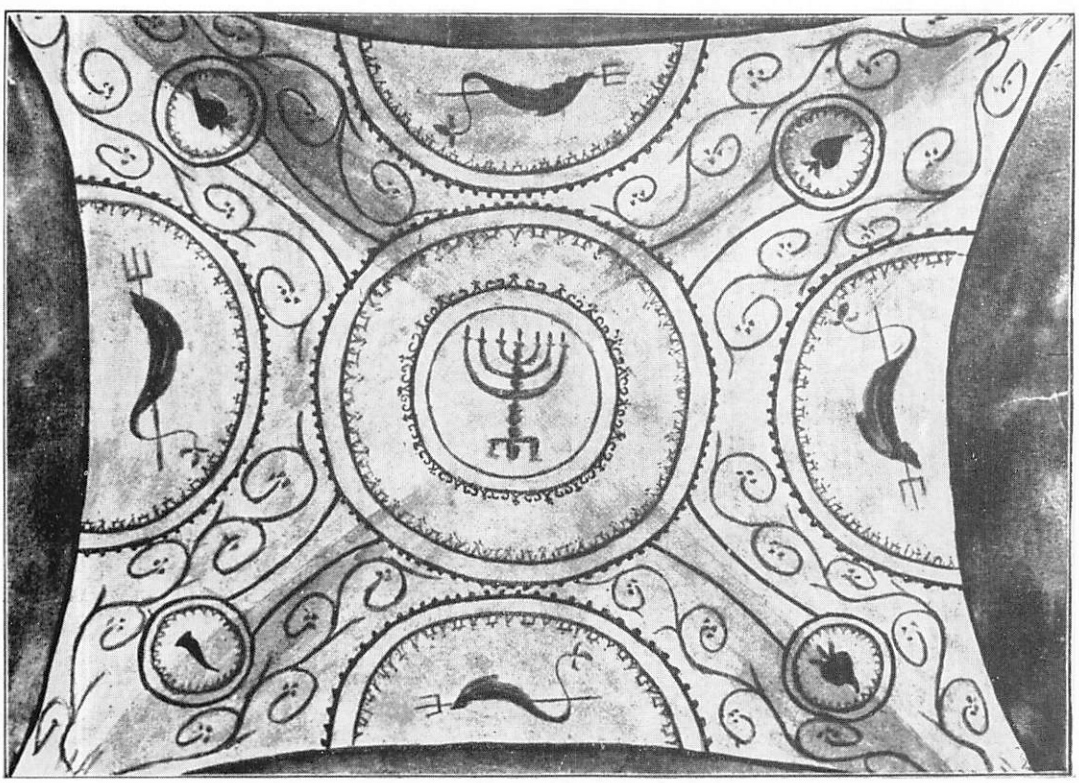
110 (p. 26)



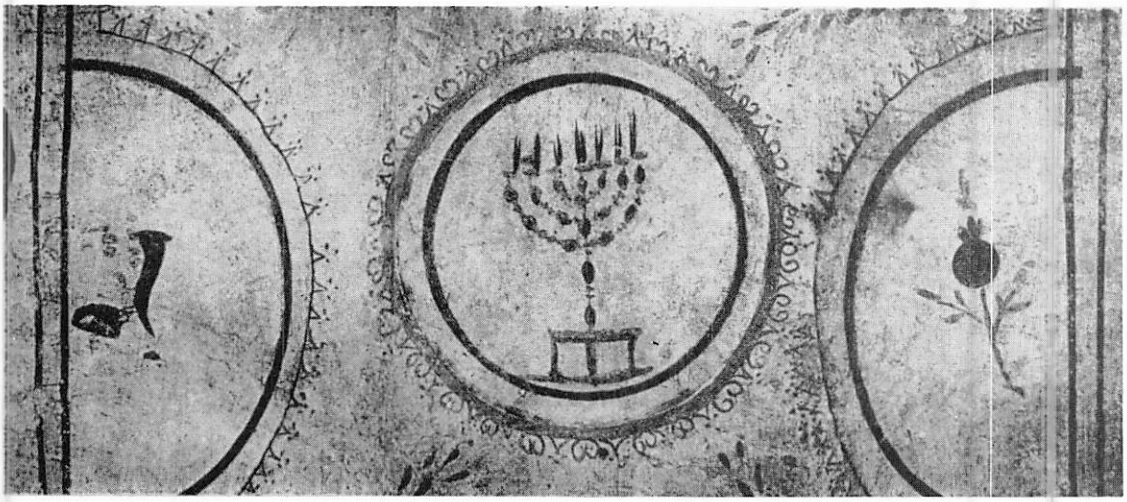
112 (p. 26)

113 (p. 26)

114 (p. 26)

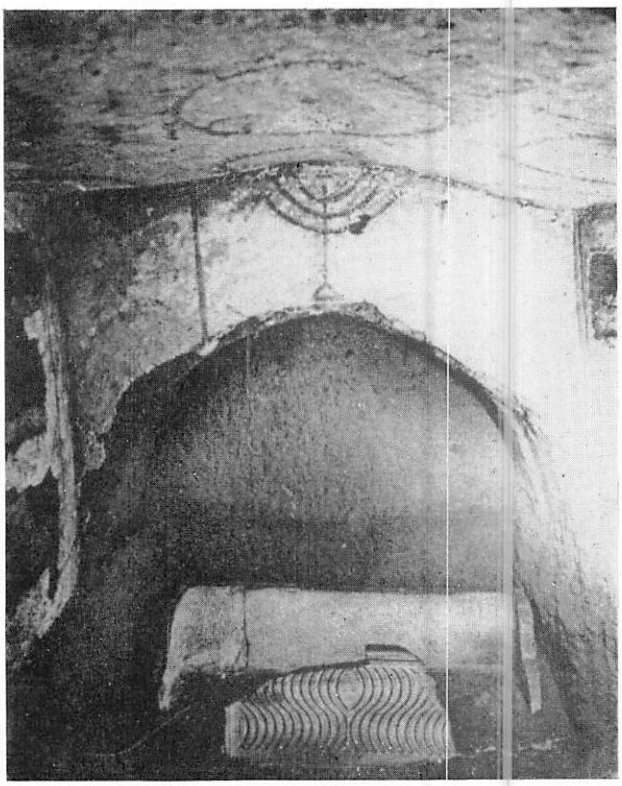


115 (p. 26)

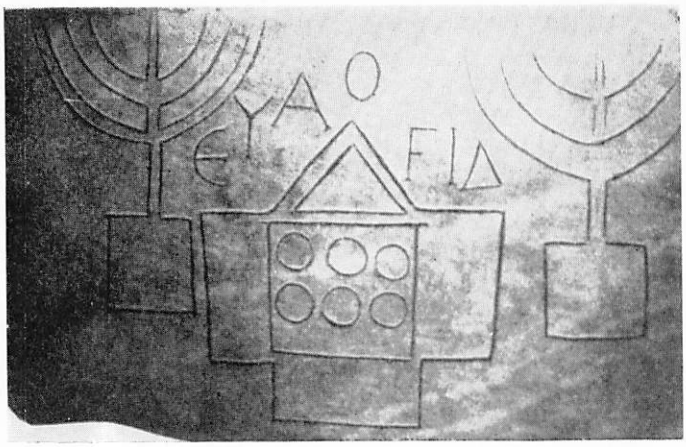


116 (p. 26)

117 (p. 26)



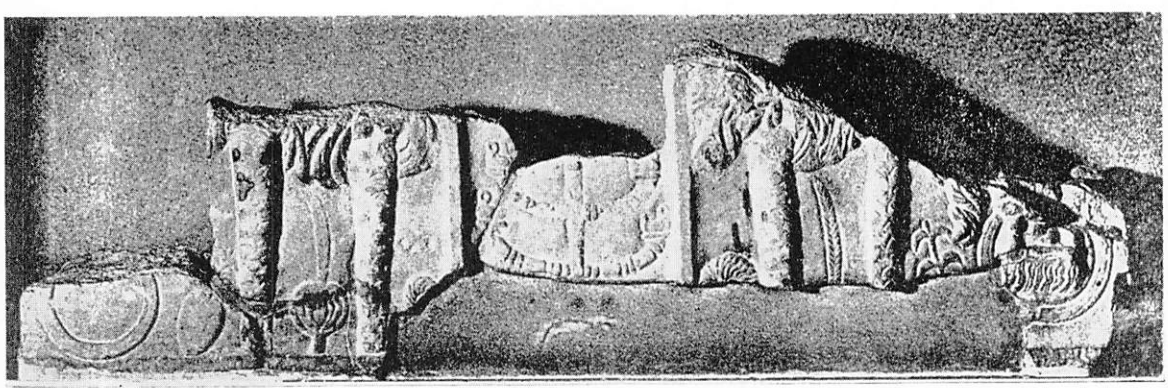
118 (p. 26)



119 (p. 26)

120 (p. 26)

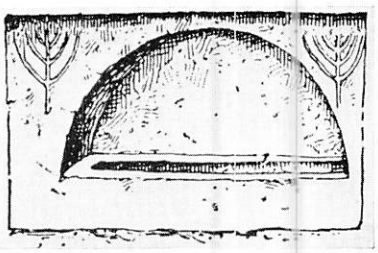
121 (p. 26)



122 (p. 26)

123 (p. 26)

124 (p. 26)



125 (p. 27)

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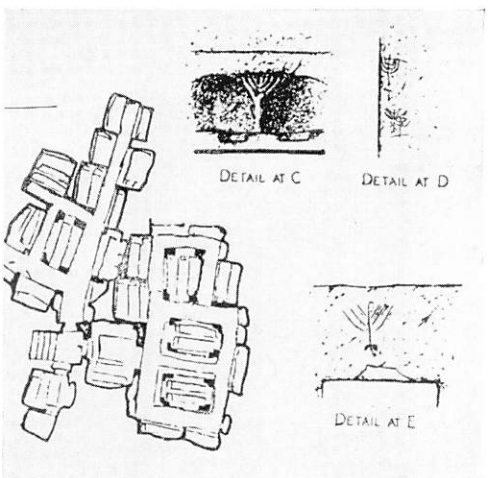
IN PACE

126 (p. 27)



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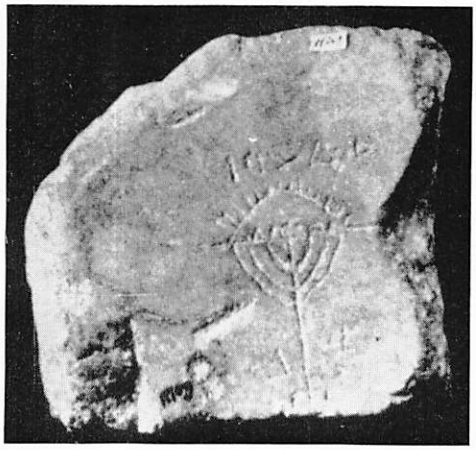
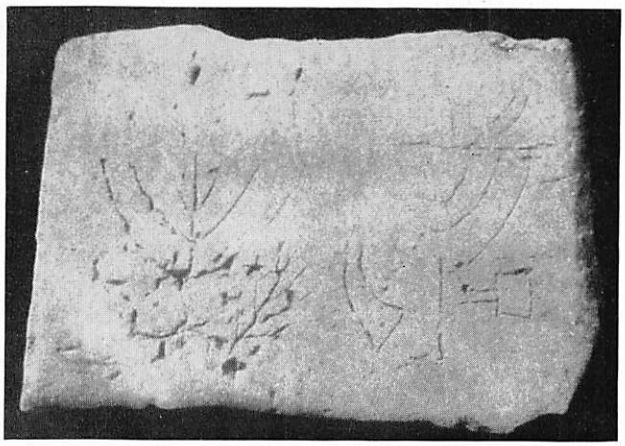
128 (pp. 27, 48)



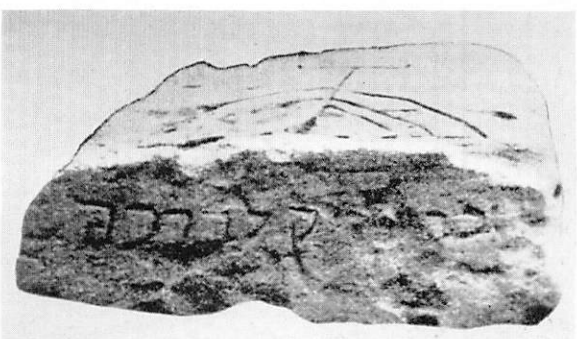
129 (p. 27)



130 (pp. 25, 27)

131 (p. 27)

132 (p. 27)



133 (p. 27)

ЄNΘA KAT
AKHTЄГΛ
YKA ΘYГATEP
CABINOY KAI
NOMHC TωN
ΠPOANAΠAY
CAMAINωN
בשלום
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134 (p. 27)

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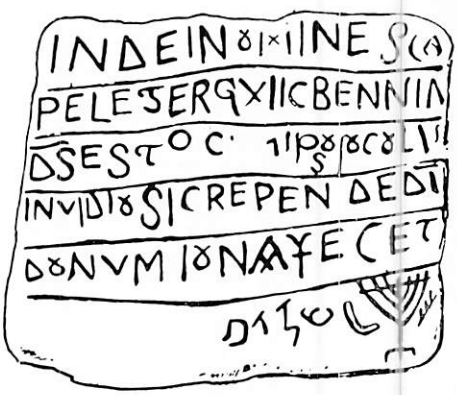
135 (p. 27)

137 (p. 27)

136 (p. 27)

138 (p. 27)

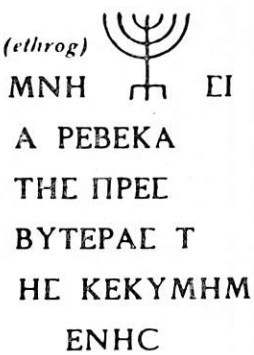


139 (p. 27)

140 (pp. 27, 70)

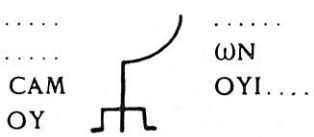
141 (pp. 27, 70)

142 (p. 27)



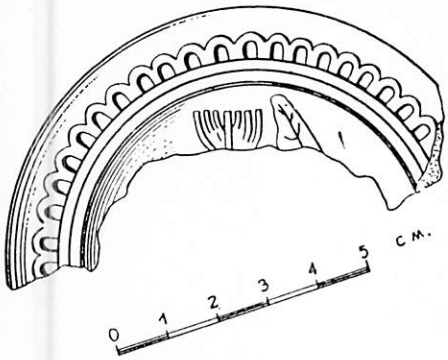
143 (p. 27)

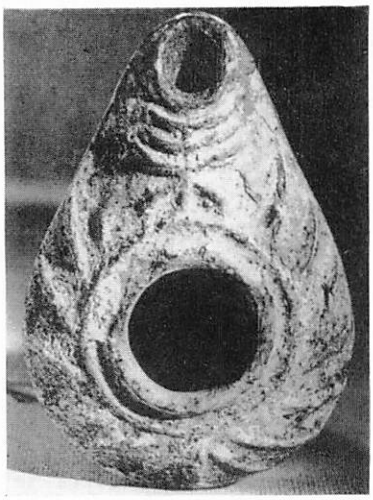
144 (pp. 27, 48)

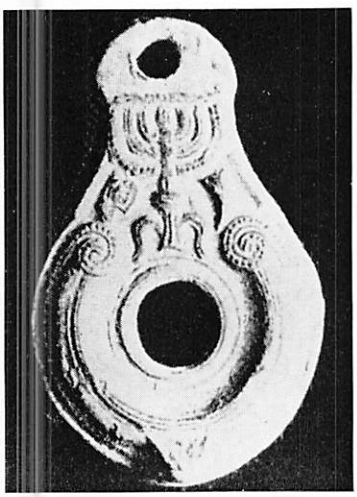


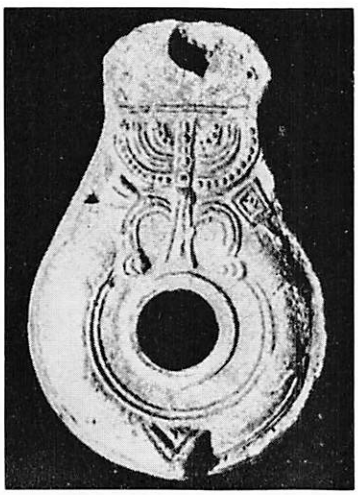
145 (p. 27)

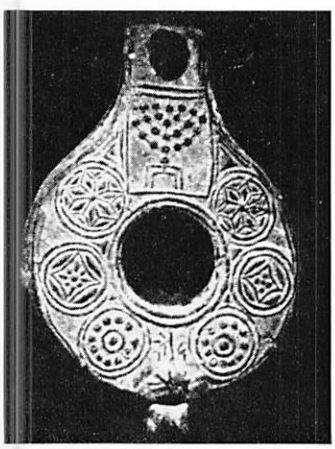
146 (p. 27)

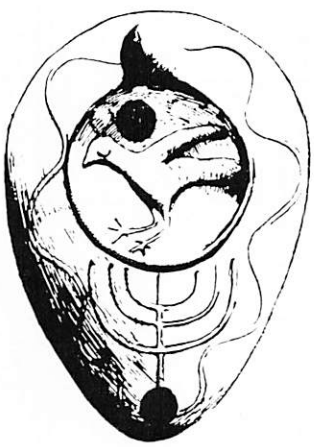


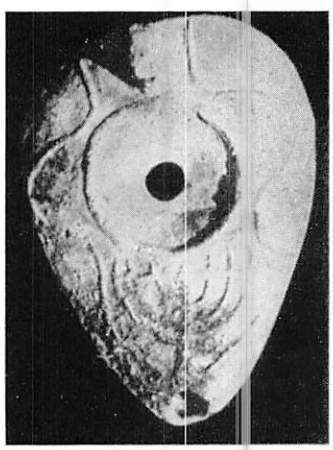




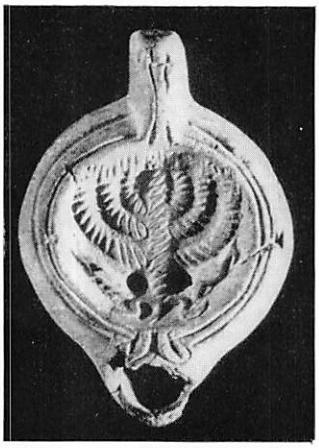
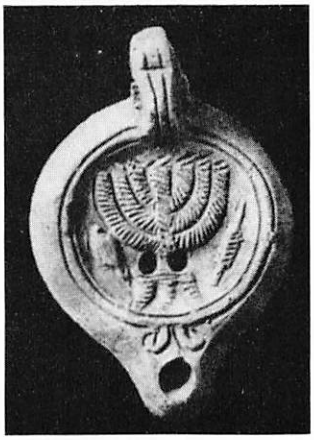
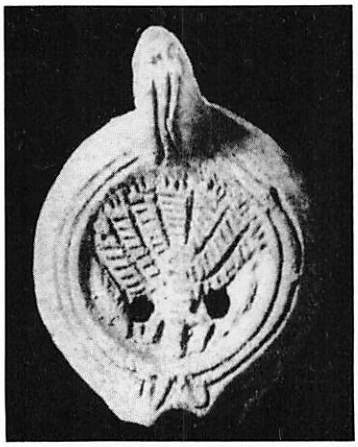
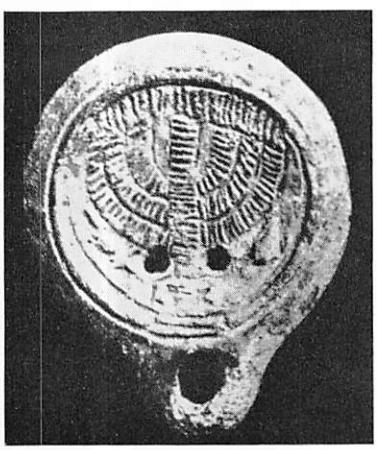
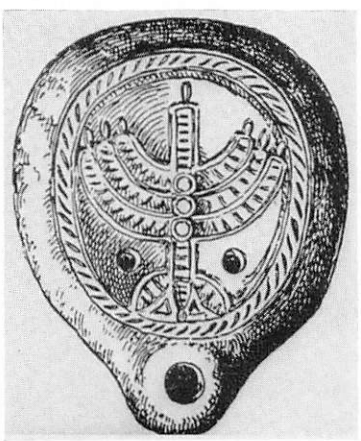


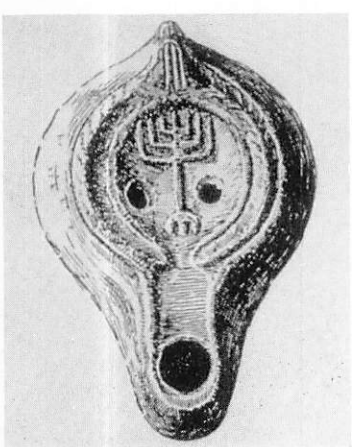


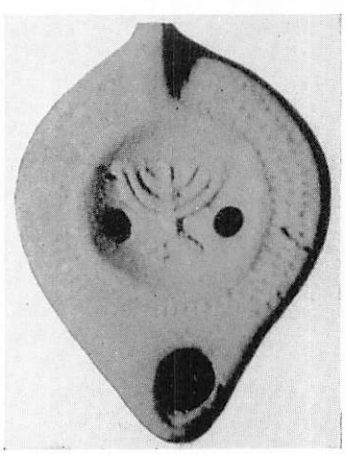




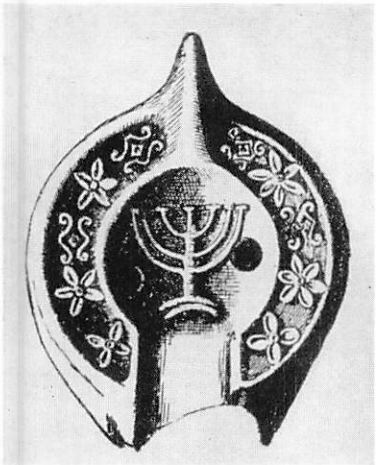
147 (pp. 17, 27), 148-152 (p. 27), 153-155 (p. 28)

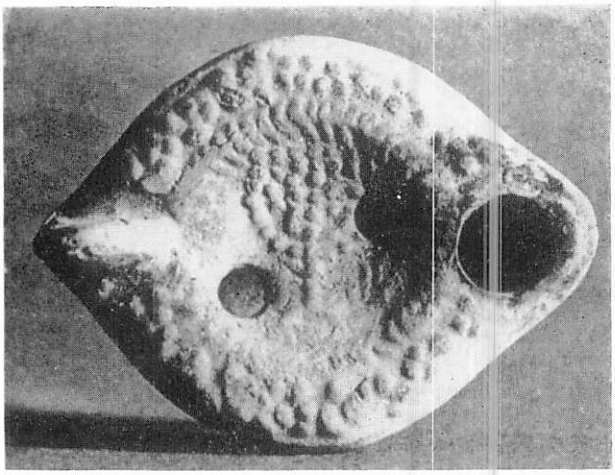






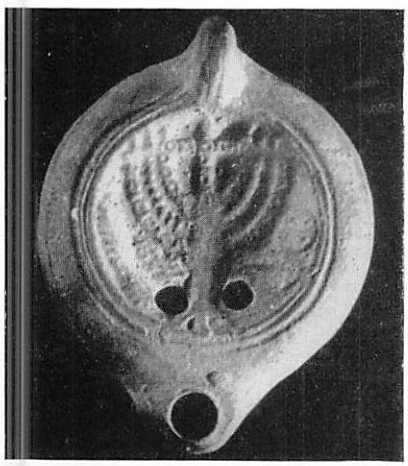


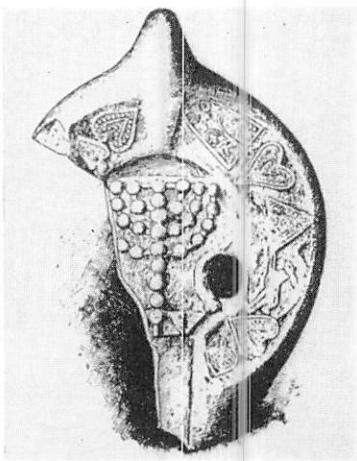


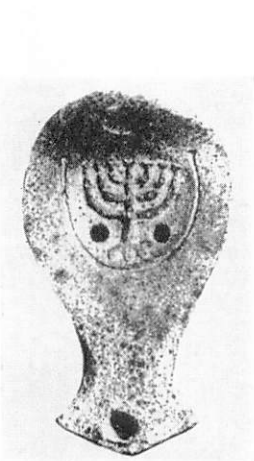
156-164 (p. 28)

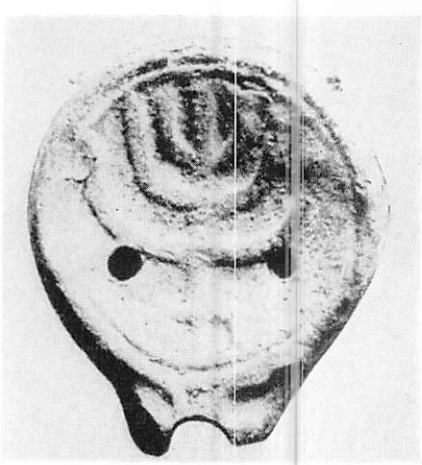




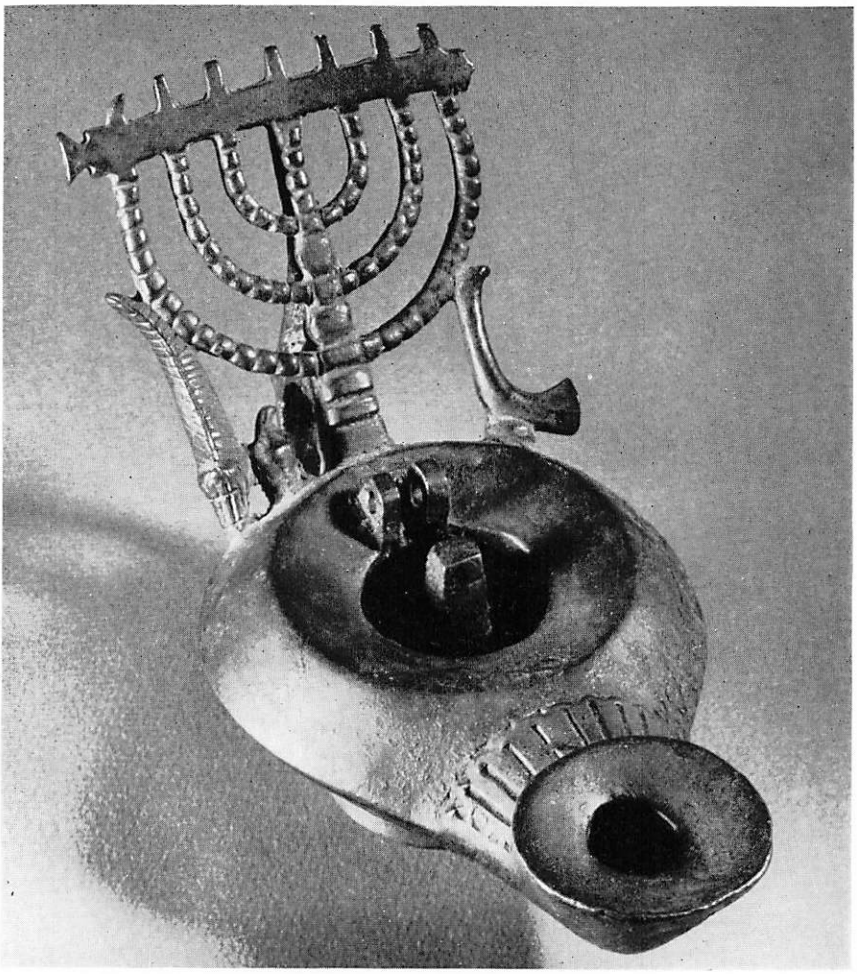








165-172 (p. 28)



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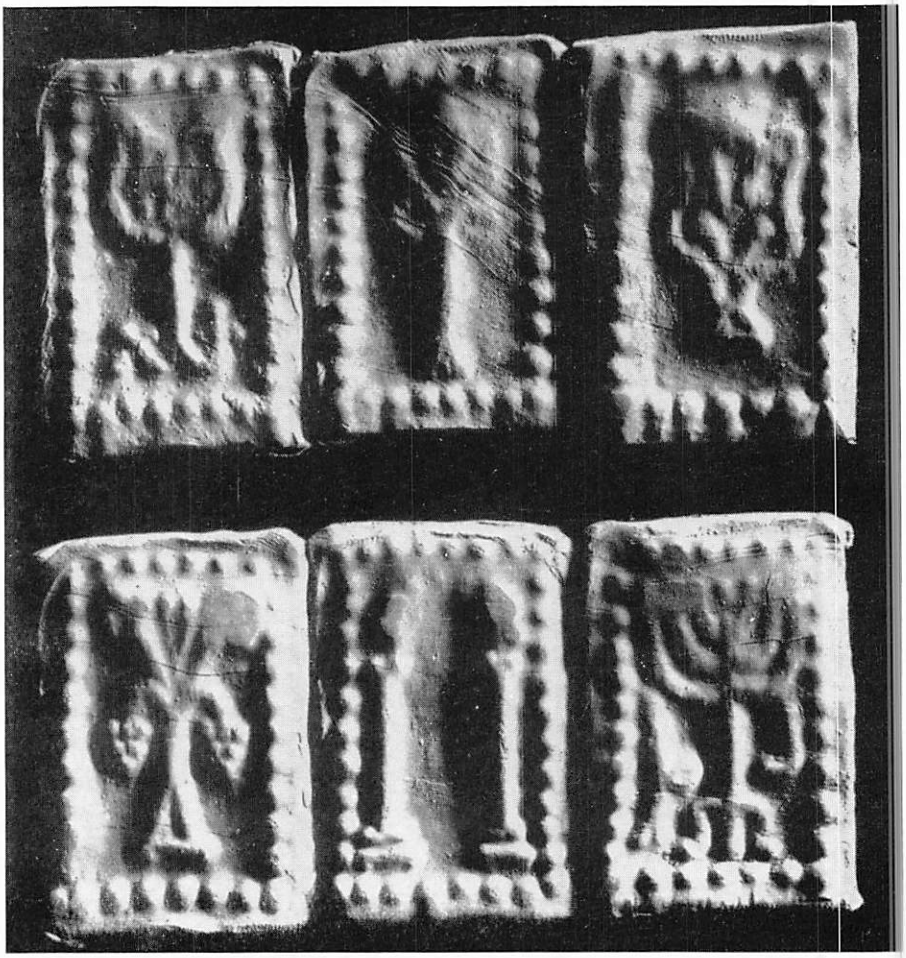
175-180 (p. 29)



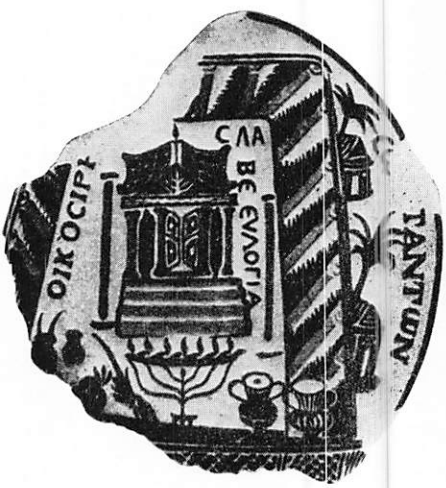



181-186 (p. 29)



187 (p. 29)

188 (p. 29)



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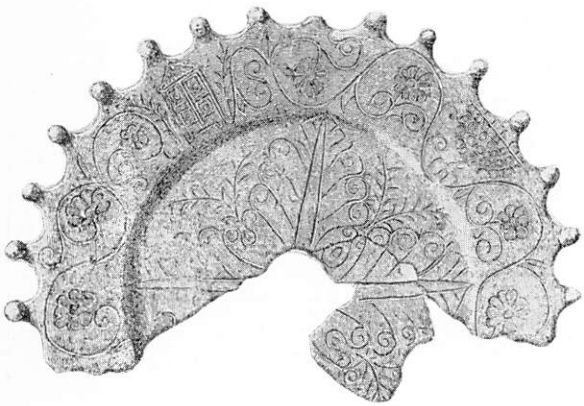
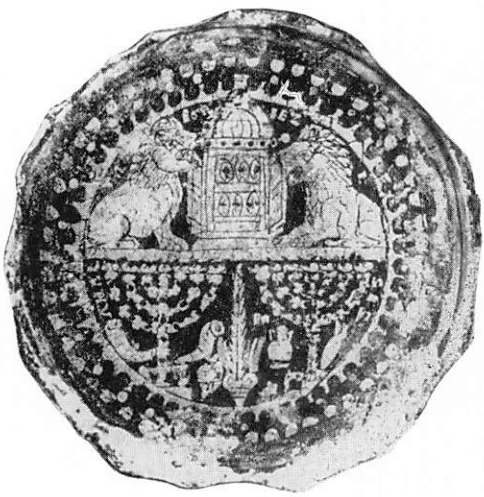
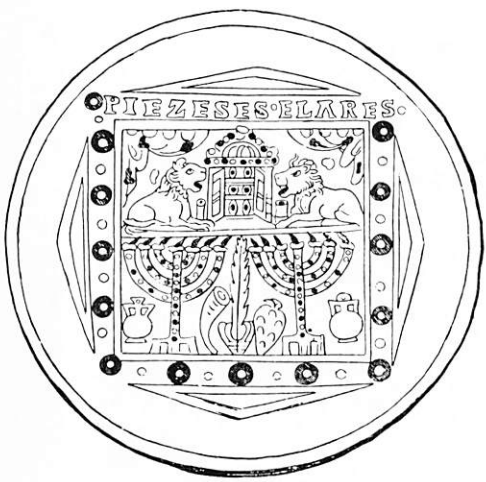
191 (p. 29)



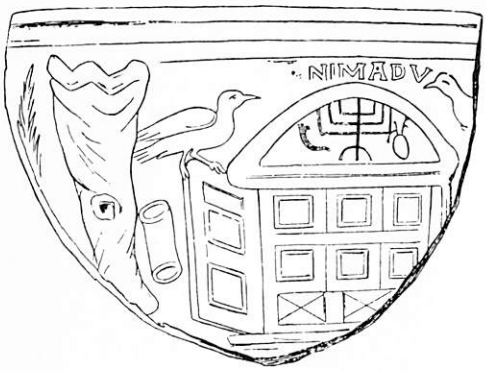
192 (p. 30)



193 (p. 30)



194-195 (p. 30)



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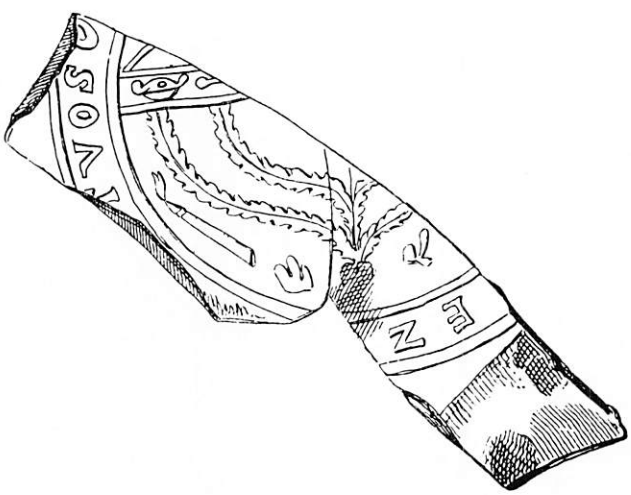
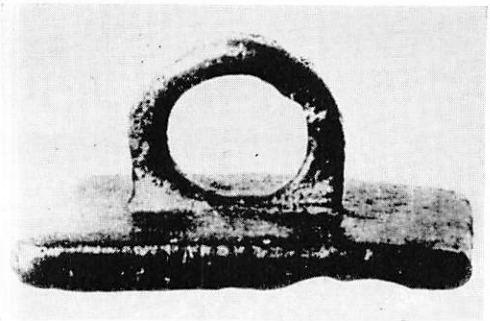
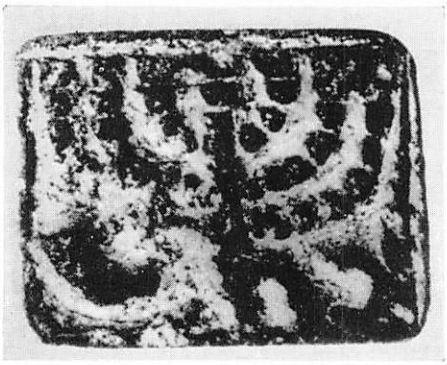
198-199 (pp. 18, 30)



200 (pp. 18, 30)





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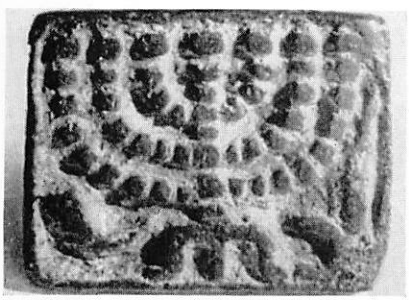

202 (p. 30)

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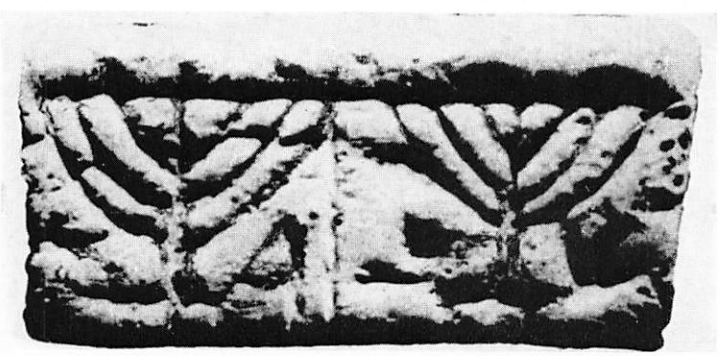

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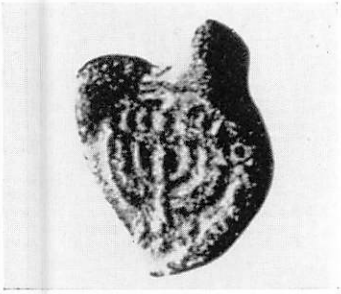

207 (p. 31)

208 (p. 31)

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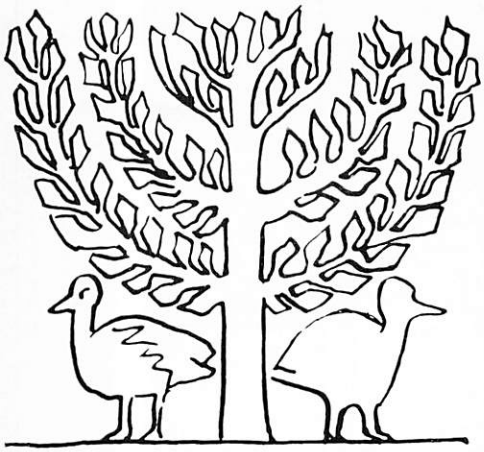
212 (p. 31)



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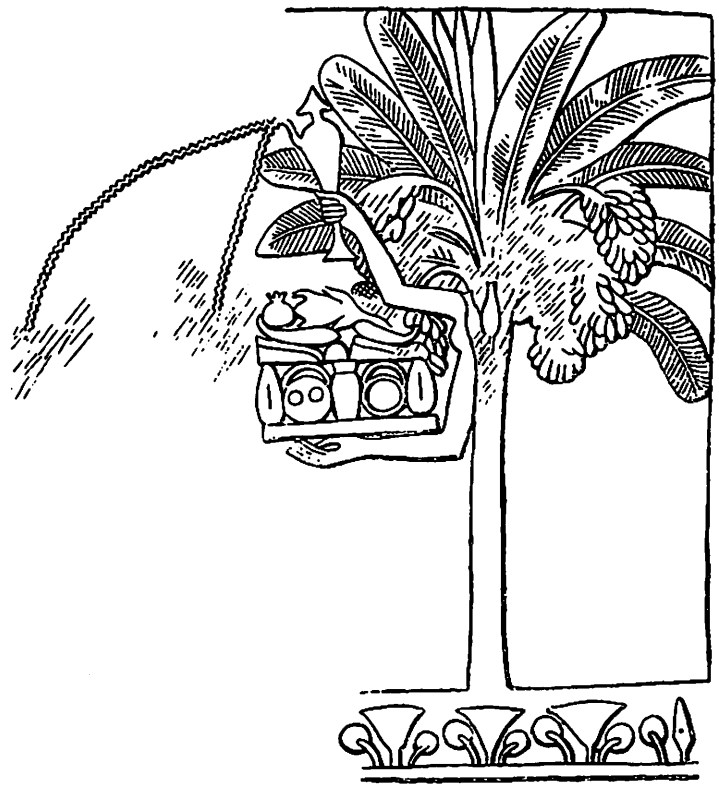
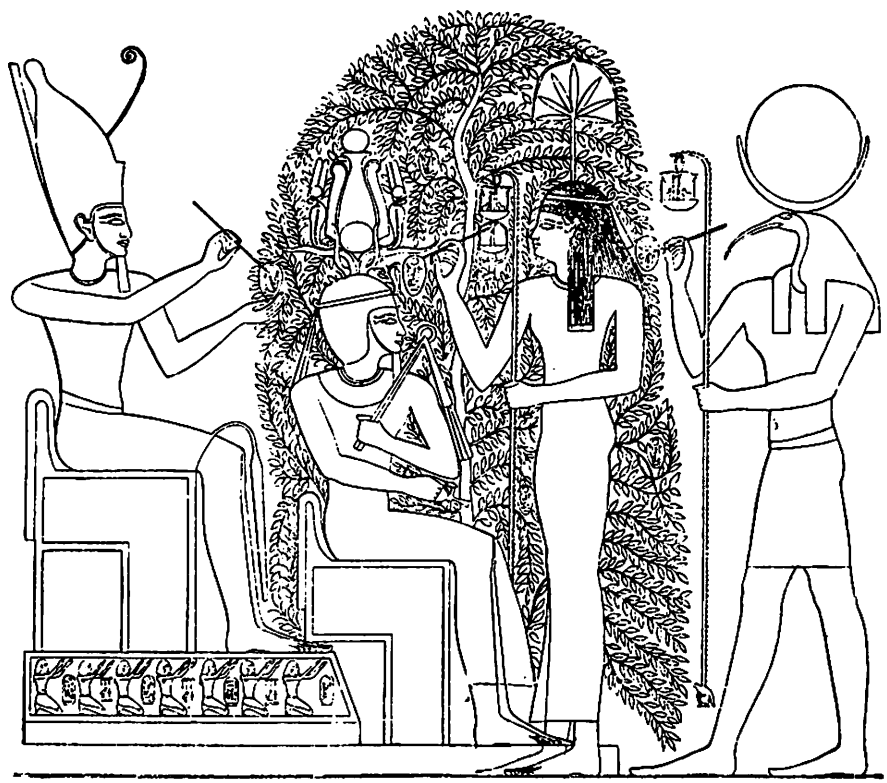
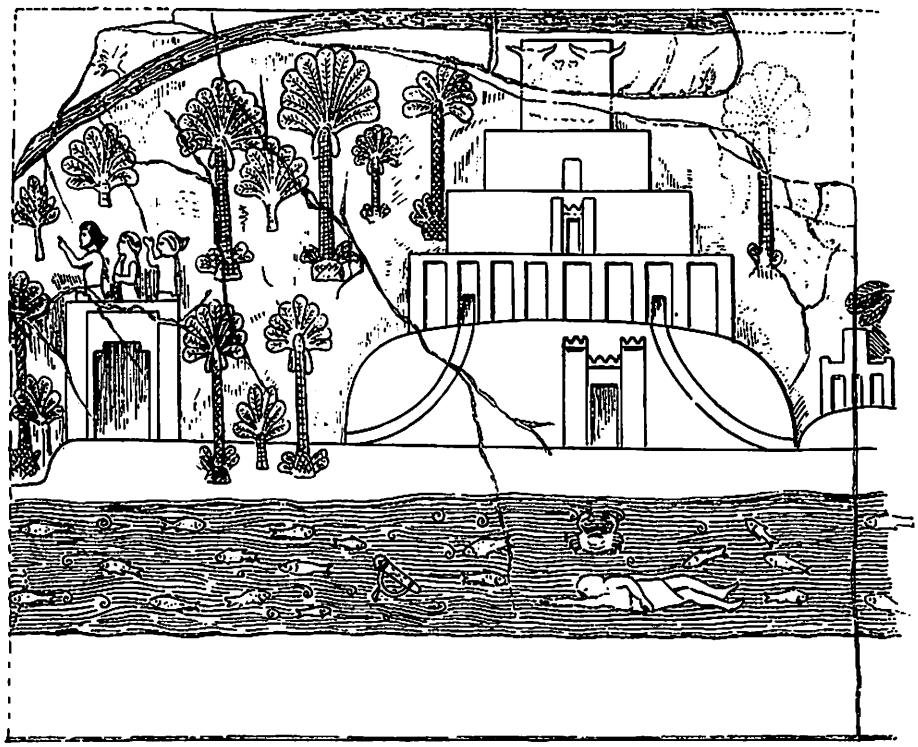
216 (p. 38)



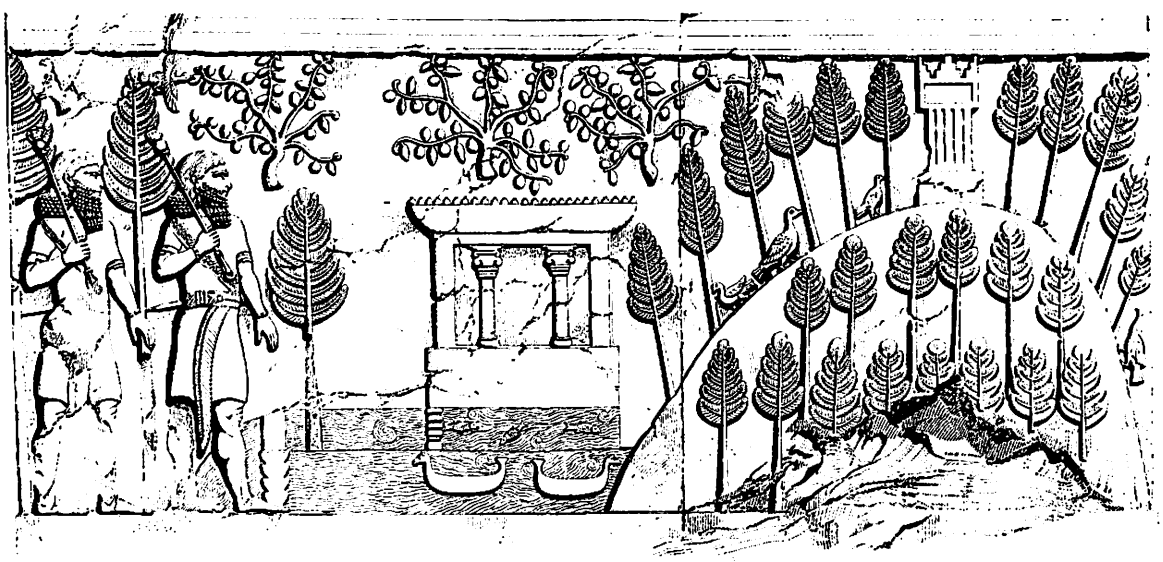
217 (p. 38)



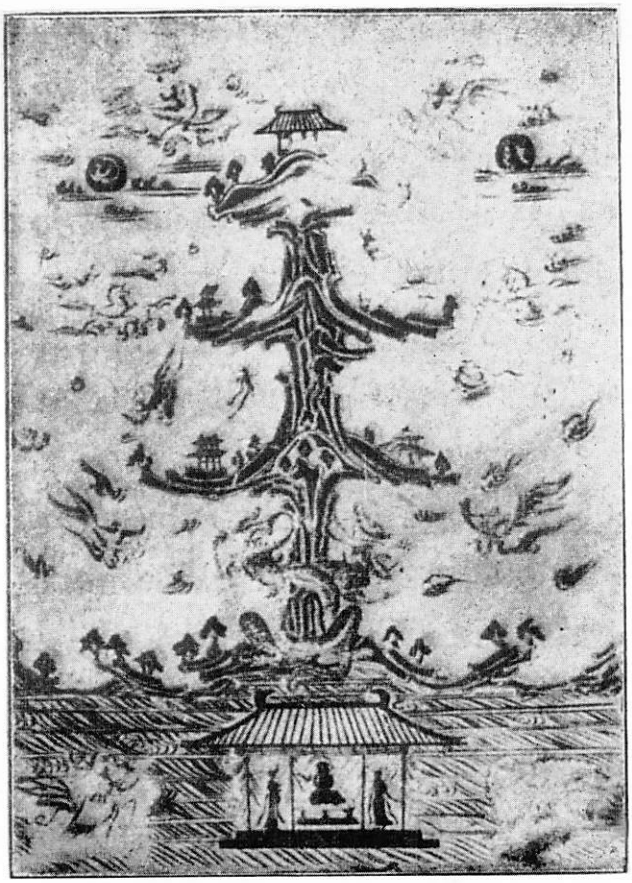
218 (p. 38)



219 (p. 38)



220 (p. 38)



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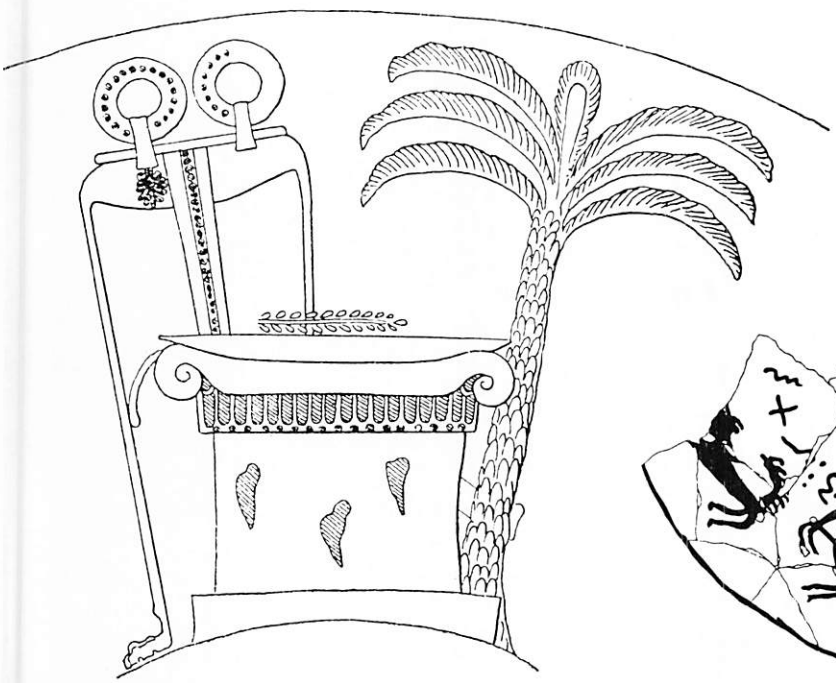

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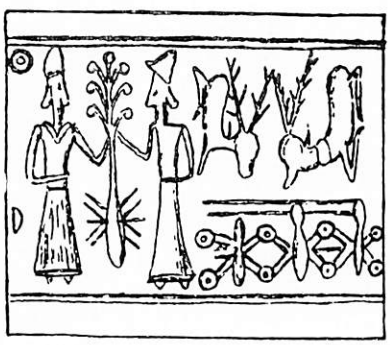

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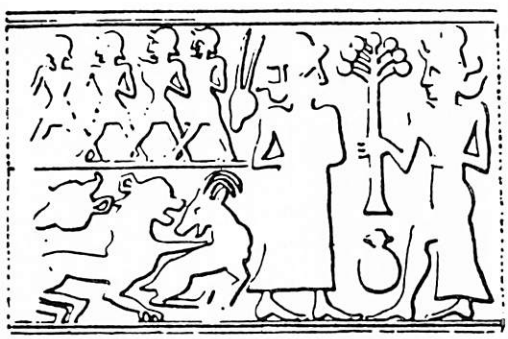

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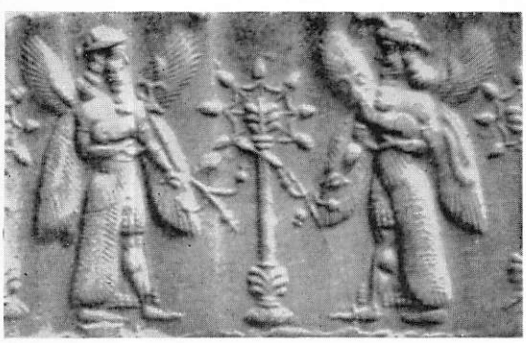

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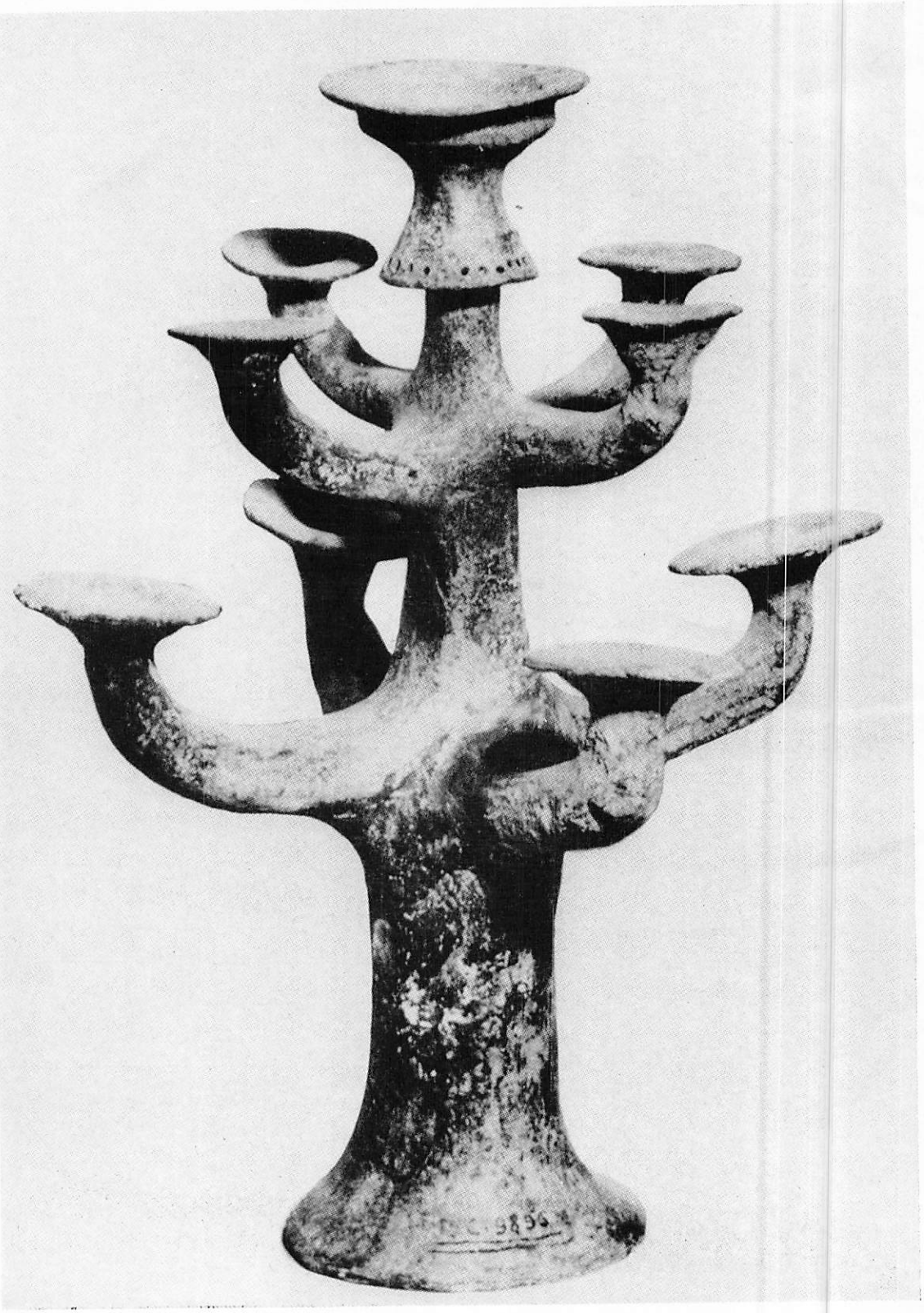
229 (p. 40)



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LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

WITH SOURCES

Frontispiece Almond in blossom (Photo Prior).
In text Menorah on Arch of Titus, Rome. Sketch from 1710 (Reland, *op. cit.*, pl. at p. 6); Arch of Titus in 1710 (*Ibid.*, pl. at p. 1).

1a–e. Tombstones, Verano cemetery, Jewish section, Rome.
2. Interior, Central synagogue, Rome (Photo Vera).
3. Coat-of-arms, Israel.
4. Bas-relief of the Triumph, Arch of Titus (Photo Alinari, no. 5840).
5. Menorah, detail from relief of the Triumph (Photo Anderson, no. 6204).
6. Detail from stone bowl, Susa, Elam, about 2300 B.C. Louvre, Paris (Ch. Zervos, *L'Art de la Mésopotamie*, Paris, 1935, p. 226).
7. Wing-shaped sky and 'world pillar', Syro-Hittite cylinder seal, 1700–1350 B.C. Last reported at Staatliche Museen, Berlin (Frankfort, *op. cit.*, pl. XLII *e*).
8. Wing-shaped sky and 'world tree', Syro-Hittite cylinder seal, 1700–1350 B.C. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (*Ibid.*, pl. XLII *i*).
9. Bronze cresset from Sidon, Lebanon (Ohnefalsch-Richter, *op. cit.*, II, pl. XLIII, no. 8).
10. Upper part, bronze cresset from Marion-Arsinoë, Cyprus (*Ibid.*, no. 9).
11. Bas-relief fragment from Adlum near Tyre, Syria. Louvre (E. Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*, Paris, 1864, Text, p. 654).
12. Design on Punic stele from Lilybaeum, Sicily. National Museum, Palermo (G. Perrot & C. Chipiez, *Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité*, Paris, 1882 ff., III: *Phénicie*, p. 309, fig. 232).
13. Persian column base, Imperial palace, Susa. Louvre (*Ibid.*, V: *Perse*, p. 489, fig. 310).
14. Base, façade column 4, temple of Apollo, Didyma, Asia Minor. Louvre (Wiegand *et al.*, *Didyma*, Ill., pl. 158, F 351).
15. Base, façade column 7, Didyma (*Ibid.*, pl. 150, F 352).
16. Field γ, column base 7, Didyma (*Ibid.*, pl. 155, F 358).
17. Field ϑ, column base 7, Didyma (*Ibid.*, pl. 156, F 363).
18. Field λ, column base 7, Didyma (*Ibid.*, F 366).
19. Design on wall plaster, fragment found beneath Jewish Quarter, Old City, Jerusalem (*Jer. Post*, Dec. 5, 1969).
20. Coin of Antigonus, about six times actual size. Reifenberg Collection, on loan at Israel Museum, Jerusalem (Reifenberg, *Hebrew Arts*, p. 69).
21. Coin of Antigonus, about eight times actual size. Hebrew University Collection, on loan at Israel Museum (Kindler, *op. cit.*, no. 4).
22. Coin of Antigonus. British Museum, London (Hill, *op. cit.*, pl. XXIII, no. 11).
23. Arab coin, presumably by Jewish engraver, early Islamic period (Stickel, *ZDMG*, XL (1886), pl. at p. 80, no. 3).
24. Coin of Bar Kokba. British Museum (Hill, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXVII, no. 7).
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26. Canyon wall, Wadi Umm es-Sedeir, Sinai (Glueck, *op. cit.*, fig. 49).
27. Vessels of the Sanctuary, Pentateuch illuminated by Solomon ha-Levi Barbuya, Egypt, 930. State Library, Leningrad, MS. II. 17 (Wischnitzer-Bernstein, *Gestalten und Symbole*, pl. 1).
28. Miniature, illuminated Bible from Spain, fourteenth century. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, MS. Hébreu no. 1314–15 (Photo B.N.).
29. Aaron pouring oil into menorah lamps, illuminated Bible from Northern France, 1277–8. British Museum, MS. Add. 11639, fol. 522 *b* (*Jew. Art*, fig. 193).
30. Vessels of the Sanctuary, Bible illuminated by Solomon ben Raphael of Perpignan, Southern France, 1299. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, MS. Hébreu no. 7 (Wischnitzer-Bernstein, *Gestalten und Symbole*, p. 26, fig. 19).
31. Miniature, illuminated Bible from Germany, fourteenth century. Destroyed at Cracow during World War II (*Ibid.*, p. 72, fig. 40).

32. Torah breastplate from Breslau, eighteenth century (*St. Jew. Enc.*, p. 354).
33. Torah crown. Last reported at Jewish Museum, Kiev (Wischnitzer-Bernstein, *Gestalten und Symbole*, p. 56, fig. 34).
34. Torah curtain, embroidered by J. Koppel Gans, 1727. Last reported at Krumbach, Germany (F. Landsberger, *A History of Jewish Art*, Cincinnati, 1946, p. 29, fig. 10).
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36. Praying-desk lamp. Last reported in synagogue at Panemunis, Lithuania (Wischnitzer-Bernstein, *Gestalten und Symbole*, p. 73, fig. 41).
37. Mizrach, etching by Markus Donath of Nyitra, about 1830. Jewish Museum, Budapest (Namenyi, *op. cit.*, pl. XII).
38. Mizrach. Last reported at Jewish Museum, Leningrad (Wischnitzer-Bernstein, *Gestalten und Symbole*, p. 62, fig. 37).
39. Christian lamp from Carthage, Tunisia (Bloch, *op. cit.*, p. 67, fig. 46).
40. Mary enthroned on seven-branched lampstand, medieval manuscript of Cosmas Indicopleustes. Destroyed at Smyrna in 1922 (Strzygowski, *op. cit.*, pl. XXVIII, no. 1).
41. Inscription from Syracuse, Sicily (*DACL*, 3/1, col. 219, fig. 2471).
42. Altar, Pius X Basilica, Lourdes (Photo Iris).
43. Tabernacle, illuminated Bible, presumably from Reims, 870–75. San Paolo fuori le mura, Rome (Bloch, *op. cit.*, p. 100, fig. 58).
44. Page from Petrus of Poitiers, *Compendium historiae in genealogia Christi*, 1167. Last reported at Staatliche Museen, Berlin (*Ibid.*, p. 76, fig. 50).
45. Page from Paul Lautensack, *Offenbarung Jesu Christi*, 1535. Last reported at Staatliche Museen, Berlin (*Ibid.*, p. 86, fig. 55).
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47. Painting, Cathedral of Hildesheim, Germany, *c.* 1150. Destroyed in 1841 (*Ibid.*, p. 75, fig. 49a).
48. Detail from Expulsion of Heliodorus from the Temple, fresco by Raphael, 1511-12. Stanza of Heliodorus, Vatican (Classici dell'Arte, 4: *L'opera completa di Raffaello*, Milan (Rizzoli), 1966, pl. XXXIX).
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50. Lampstand detail, Essen (*Ibid.*, p. 105, fig. 64).
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52. Lampstand detail, Essen (*Ibid.*, fig. 63).
53. Seven-branched lampstand ('Trivulzio'), Cathedral of Milan, 1180 (*Ibid.*, p. 155, fig. 90).
54–55. Christmas lamps, Sweden.
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57. Hanukkah lamp from Jerusalem. Formerly in J. D. Eisenstein Collection, New York (M. Narkiss, *The Hanukkah Lamp*, Jerusalem, 1939, pl. II, no. 7).
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113. Man with menorah, wall carving, catacomb, Beth Shearim (*Ibid.*, p. 133).
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